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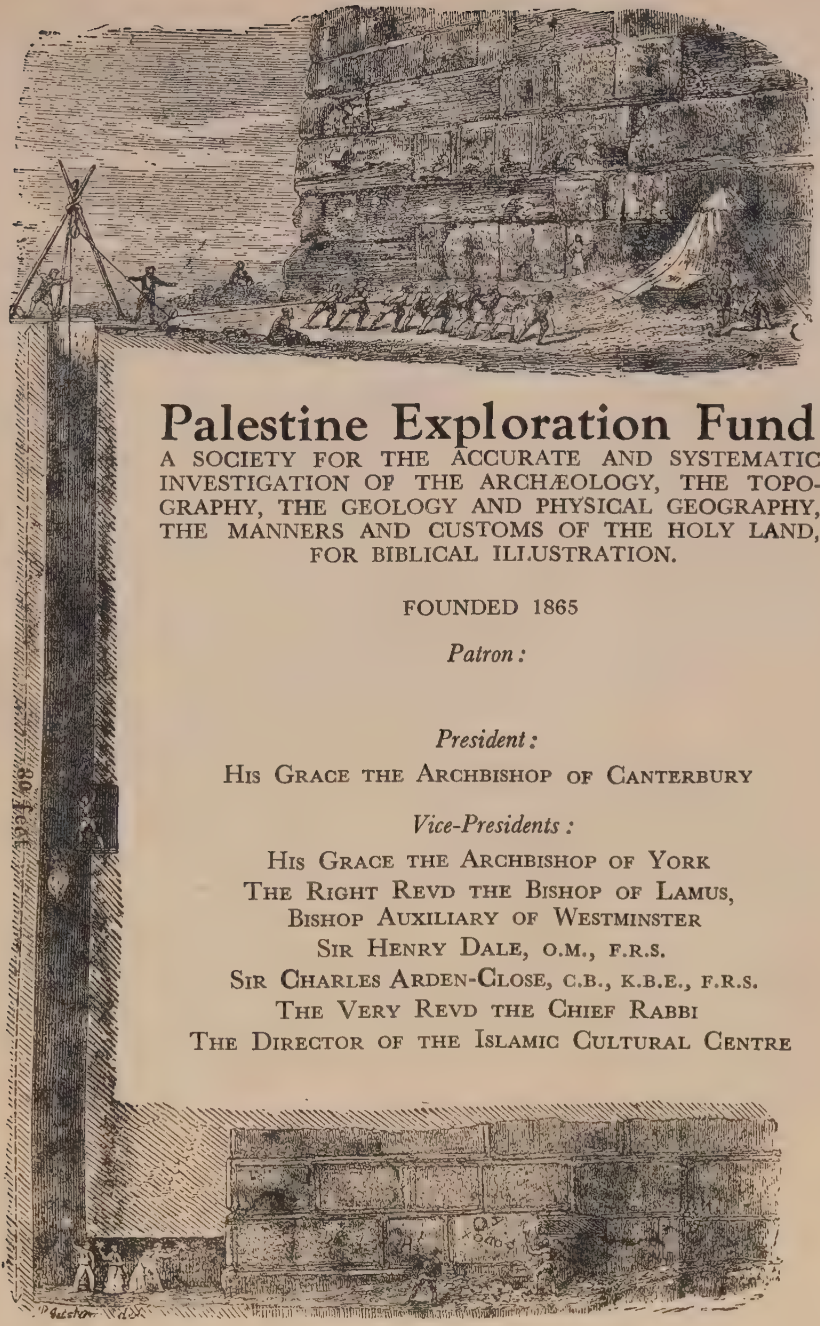

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Since the last issue of this Journal appeared the nation has suffered the grievous loss of its gracious and greatly beloved King. Of the manner of his passing it may surely be said, in Milton's majestic words,

> "Nothing is here for tears, nothing to wail
> Or knock the breast, no weakness, no contempt,
> Dispraise, or blame, nothing but well and fair,
> And what may quiet us in a death so noble."

The Fund has also lost its most gracious Patron. We print below the address of condolence which was sent by the Executive Committee of the Fund to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.

> To Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.
> May it please Your Majesty,
>
> We the President, Chairman, and Members of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, of which His late Majesty was Patron, crave humbly to express to Your Majesty our profound sorrow at the death of your illustrious father our late sovereign King George VI, and to tender Your Majesty our heartfelt sympathy in the irreparable loss which Your Majesty and the Royal Family as well as all Your Majesty's subjects have suffered.
>
> We pray for Your Majesty's long life and happiness in the loyal devotion of your subjects and the prosperity of your realms.
>
> We subscribe ourselves,
> Your Majesty's most devoted subjects.
>
> (Signed by His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury as President, and Professor G. R. Driver, as Chairman of the Executive Committee.)

We also have to announce with great regret the death, as the result of an accident, of a distinguished member of the Dominican School at Jerusalem, Father Savignac. The following is the text of the announcement made by the School :—

> "The death of Father Savignac has been a severe blow for the School. The beloved Father, who was a member of the first staff formed by Father Lagrange, was loved and honoured by all for his

> goodness of heart and his exemplary religious life. We all remember his brave expeditions into northern Arabia, accompanied by Father Jaussen, in the course of which he became an expert Semitic epigraphist. The disappearance of his well-known figure from Jerusalem, where he lived for 58 years, has been deeply felt in the Holy City, and has brought us from all quarters letters of sincere sympathy."

A preliminary report of the results of the first season's work at the fresh excavations in Jericho now being carried on under the direction of Miss Kenyon, will be found at the end of Notes and News in this issue. A recent letter from Miss Kenyon contains news which will stir expectations in the minds of all our readers. She speaks of " exciting new finds of manuscripts " discovered in caves close to the Ain Feshkha Cave, in which the much-discussed Dead Sea Scrolls were said to have been found by Bedouins. Miss Kenyon says that large fragments have been recovered, of exactly the same character as the original ones, and that an exactly similar pot has been found. Mr. Lankester Harding has promised an article on these new discoveries, and we hope it will be available for the October issue of the Quarterly. This will probably throw light on the earlier finds, and may serve to dissipate the cloud of suspicion which has been thrown on the circumstances of the Ain Feshkha discovery. Meanwhile, the publication of the MSS. now in America continues with praiseworthy speed and efficiency, and scholars are now busy studying the text of the Manual of Discipline, a curious document, held by some scholars to emanate from a Damascus Jewish sect early in the 1st century B.C. In the latest number of the *Jewish Quarterly Review* (Oct. 1951) nearly 100 pages are occupied by Dr. Millar Burrows' defence of the authenticity and early date of the Dead Sea Scrolls, and the indefatigable Professor Zeitlin's continued attack on them. The dispute has become a little wearisome.

In the *Journal Asiatique* vol. CCXXXIX, Professor Virolleaud has published an interesting short article concerning certain survivals in folklore of the Babylonian legend of the plant of life. In his account of the adventures of Gilgamesh in search of immortality, the eminent French scholar makes certain statements whose origin is obscure. He describes Gilgamesh as being helped by a goddess Sabitu to build a boat in which, after a stormy passage, he reaches the land where the plant of life grows. This account does not tally with the Sumerian account of the exploits of Gilgamesh, nor with the Akkadian form of the story of the desperate journey of the hero to reach his ancestor Ut-napishtim. One would be interested to know what form of the Babylonian legend Professor Virolleaud is quoting.

We welcome the reappearance of the old and valued *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina Vereins* under its new title of *Beiträge zur Biblischen Landes- und Altertumskunde* edited by that well-known Old Testament scholar Professor

Martin Noth. The current number, which is vol. 68, heft 3, contains several valuable articles, one of which is an important article by Professor Alt on Jewish place-lists in the Old Testament. Another is on Roman and Byzantine buildings on Gerizim, by Professor Schneider. The number contains much valuable material.

Among many other excellent things the latest issue of *Revue Biblique* for July 1951, contains a full and valuable review by R. P. R. de Vaux of Professor Dupont-Sommer's two brochures on the Dead Sea Scrolls. Readers may be interested to know that the latter have recently been translated into English by Margaret Rowley. The same issue contains a full report by R. P. de Vaux on the third season of excavations at Tell el-Fa'rah, near Nablus. We hope to publish an account of this important excavation in the October issue of the Quarterly, by Dr. J. Gray.

The appearance of a new international journal devoted to Old Testament studies is an event to be hailed with pleasure by all students of the Bible. It is entitled *Vetus Testamentum*, and is a quarterly journal published by the International Organization of Old Testament Scholars. The names on its editorial board show how comprehensive is its international character. They are G. W. Anderson of England, Aage Bentzen of Denmark, P. A. H. de Boer of Holland, Millar Burrows of the U.S.A., H. Cazelles of France, and Martin Noth of Germany. The latest issue, April, 1952, contains an article by Professor Mullo Weir, entitled *Aspects of the Book of Ezekiel* presenting an able defence of the unity of that much-discussed book. This journal promises to be a most valuable addition to the list of journals dealing with Biblical studies, textual, exegetical, and archæological.

Another new journal represents the intense interest taken by the new state of Israel in its own precious antiquities. It bears the title *Israel Exploration Journal*, and we are glad to say is published in English. Much of recent literature from Israel on Palestinian archæology has been in Hebrew, which limits its usefulness to Jews and the very few scholars who can read unpointed modern Hebrew. The current issue, vol. 1, No. 4, contains, among other interesting articles, a preliminary report by Professor Maisler on the excavations at Tell Qasîle.

In the *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* for October, 1951, Professor Maisler also discusses two Hebrew ostraca from Tell Qasîle which he assigns to the 8th century B.C. Every addition to the scanty epigraphic material from Palestine is to be welcomed. Professor Maisler points out that, brief as they are, the two inscriptions testify clearly to the importance of the settlement in Tell Qasîle in the early Iron II period as a centre of import and export, while the name Hiyahu, found on one of the ostraca, supports the view that the settlement was Israelite. It also appears that in the period of the divided monarchy the settlement constituted an Israelite fortified town on the border of Philistia.

In *Syria*, XXV, 1-2, Professor Dhorme published his decipherment of the mysterious pseudo-hieroglyphic script discovered at Byblos by M. Dunand in 1930. Now, in vol. XXVII, 3-4, of the same journal, he takes up the subject again, and discusses certain emendations in his translation suggested by Professor Jirku. In the same issue Professor Dussaud has an interesting article on the lion-headed figure of Mithras, whose occurrences have been listed by Cumont.

The nature and meaning of Baptism is a subject which has been much discussed of late in theological circles. An interesting and surprising light is thrown on the early origins of the rite by an article in the *Journal of Egyptian Archæology* for December, 1950, by Sir Alan Gardiner, on *The Baptism of Pharaoh.* In this article Sir Alan Gardiner demonstrates the significant fact that this rite, which, as he remarks, is close enough to that of Christian baptism to justify the title of his article, plays an important part in the Egyptian coronation ritual. As to its purpose we may quote the concluding words of the article: "It would appear, accordingly, that the rite was intended to transfer to the Pharaoh a goodly portion of the power of the divinities who presided over the four quarters of the globe."

BRITISH SCHOOL OF ARCHÆOLOGY IN JERUSALEM

EXCAVATIONS AT JERICHO 1952

Interim Report

The season's work is now at the half-way stage and it is possible to give an interim report on the progress of the work.

The party is established in two houses immediately adjacent to the spring and at the foot of the Tell. One house provides office and messing accommodation, the second sleeping accommodation for the women, and the men are in tents. Everything is now very comfortable but to begin with we suffered a good deal of inconvenience during the wet weather, as the roofs leaked and the water table tended to rise above the level of the floors.

The party is now twenty-one strong, six representatives of the American School, two of the Jordanian Department of Antiquities, and thirteen of the British School. Co-operation between the two schools is excellent, and relations everything that could possibly be desired. The American School has been most helpful, under its Director, Dr. Reed, in providing equipment and most welcome hospitality to all members of the party when in Jerusalem. Dr. A. D. Tushingham, Annual Professor of the American School, is acting as Assistant Director of the excavations.

Two areas of the city's defences are being excavated, and two main areas within the walls, with some subsidiary soundings. With regard to the defences, in neither of the areas excavated have the defences of the Late Bronze Age city survived. On the other hand, we have been fortunate enough to locate areas where the stratification of the earlier levels is undisturbed, and where, therefore, the walls can be dated by the associated pottery. By the time the trenches are completed we have every hope of obtaining satisfactory evidence for a succession of defences which is considerably more complex than had been revealed in the earlier excavations.

In a long trench about the middle of the west side, we have so far uncovered the upper part of two successive sloping plastered escarps (which, I understand from Sir Charles Close, is the correct term for what is usually called a glacis), of the form which is typical of Hyksos defences in southern Palestine. Both can be dated to the Middle Bronze Age by pottery in the make-up, the first very early in the period. The great Hyksos stone-reveted fosse should lie here further down the slope, and has not yet been reached, so its relation to the plastered slopes is not yet established. Buried beneath the make-up of the earliest escarp is a rather remarkable make-shift defensive line, with a weak mud-brick wall built as a facing to a mass of burnt brickwork, which is apparently to be dated to the Intermediate E.M.–M.B. period (that of Tell Beit Mirsim H). This overlies the intensively burnt debris of an Early Bronze Age wall on the crest of the hill, which we already know succeeds two earlier Early Bronze Age walls, but which we have not yet fully examined in this area.

The other area of the defences examined is on the west side, near the north-west corner. Here, again, the latest wall still surviving is Early Bronze Age. Some 4 metres of this still survive, resting on a lower wall slightly in advance of it, surviving in its turn to a height of 2 metres. Beneath is accumulated debris, at the base of which are the remains of another wall, completely destroyed, probably by earthquake, the brickwork lying on its side beside its stone foundations. This wall can be dated to E.B.Ib, early in the third millennium. Beneath again is a considerable depth of deposit, still Early Bronze Age in date, the base of which cannot be reached in the space available. The relation between the Early Bronze Age walls in the two areas has not yet been established but attention is now being directed to this.

One of the areas selected for examination within the walls is that adjoining Professor Garstang's deep excavation into the Early Bronze Age and Neolithic levels. At the base of his main trench, in which he was only able to penetrate below Level XI in a restricted area, excavation has been continued down and earlier buildings with the typical burnished floors have been uncovered. One room in the building beneath Level XI has the appearance of a small shrine, with a shallow niche in one wall, at the base of which was a pedestal formed of a rough stone. Not far away was lying a carefully worked stone, about 15 ins. high, of some igneous rock, which may well be a betyl. Work has also begun on the strip immediately to the south of the deep trench. Unfortunately, the overlying dump proved to be much deeper than surface indications suggested, and its clearance is only just being completed.

The second area within the city lies in the centre of the west side of the summit, immediately behind the main cut through the defences. The results have been most surprising, as immediately below the surface are Early Bronze Age levels, including two round houses of the type assigned by Professor Garstang to E.B.I. Beneath, and within four feet of the surface, are levels producing Neolithic pottery. It is clear that the disappearance of any levels later than the beginning of the Early Bronze Age must have taken place at an early date, for in a deep, rubble-filled pit, which has cut into the area, there is an enormous amount of E.B. pottery, some late Roman sherds, but virtually nothing belonging to the intervening periods. Soundings at a number of places on the highest surviving points of the Tell similarly reveal Early Bronze Age levels immediately below the surface. A prolonged period of denudation and abandonment, at a date at least after the Middle Bronze Age, of which the defences have already been located in this area, can be deduced from this evidence. Attention is now being directed to the eastern side of the Tell, where Professor Garstang found the Middle Bronze Age storerooms and later levels.

The search for tombs has been very successful. It has been found that the enormous refugee camp immediately to the north of the Tell overlies a very wide-spread cemetery area, many of the tombs being revealed by rock-cutting by the refugees to make plaster. So far, 58 tombs have been cleared ; of these, 13 are intact, one having an excellent Early Bronze Age Ia group, five being single burials, with only a dagger and one or two pots, of the Intermediate E.B.–M.B. period, and seven belonging to the Middle Bronze Age. One of these is exceptionally rich, with some 150 objects, including a fine cylinder seal, twelve scarabs, one datable to *c.* 1650 B.C., two wooden platters, much fibrous material, traces of a bier, and many pottery vessels. One remarkable fact is that a number of the skulls still have recognisable remains of desiccated brains.

Expenditure is working out reasonably well in accordance with estimates and it is hoped to be able to continue digging until about the first week in April.

KATHLEEN M. KENYON

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE GATEWAYS TO THE HERODIAN TEMPLE IN JERUSALEM

By Spencer Corbett

The Temple of the Lord which Herod the Great built on the site of Solomon's temple in Jerusalem, in the first century B.C., consisted of a rectangular enclosure some 500 yards from north to south and 300 from east to west, surrounded with colonnades, and having near the middle of the court thus enclosed the sacrificial altar and temple cella. Somewhat similar plans are found in pagan temples in Syria; e.g., Baalbek, Palmyra, Damascus and Jerash. However, in the Jewish Temple the central building was a much more elaborate complex than the single pedimented structures usual in pagan types, and there was also a notable difference in the arrangement of the gateways through which the temenos was entered. The pagan temples all had monumental, axially placed propylæa, scarcely less important in the general architectural composition than the central buildings, whereas the Herodian Temple had no grand entrance, but, instead, a number of subsidiary doorways irregularly spaced in the circuit of the peribolos. There were not less than eight such gates: four on the west side, one on the north, one towards the northern end of the east wall, and two in the south wall.[1] Fragments of four of these entrances survive *in situ;* the gate in the eastern wall, identified in early Christian times with the scriptural Golden Gate; the two southern gates, now known as the Double and Triple Gates; and a fourth gate near the south end of the western wall. The present notes are concerned with the Golden Gate, the Double Gate and the Triple Gate; and it will be a little less confusing if the two latter are referred to by their old names, the Western and Eastern Huldah Gates.

These three entrances all had similar plans. Each consisted of a pair of twin doorways leading into vaulted passages, beyond which inclined ramps led up to the level of the temenos pavement. (Pl. I.) In the case of the Huldah Gates, the temenos pavement was high enough above them for it to be clear of the vestibule vaults, and the colonnades on that side of the temenos were thus not interrupted by the gateways, but continued unbroken over the top of the vestibules. Recent excavations by the British School at Athens and the University of Ankara on the site of the archaic city of Smyrna[2] have exposed a sixth-century temple with a ramped approach which may have passed underneath a raised temenos pavement in much the same way as the approaches to Herod's Temple. It may be permissible to surmise that the Herodian architects copied this feature from the sixth-century Temple and that the design was common to other archaic temples in the eastern Mediterranean.

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[1] C. J. M. de Vogüé, *Le Temple de Jérusalem*, Pl. XV. Cf. Josephus; *Antiquities*, XV, XI, 5.

[2] J. M. Cook, *Archæology in Greece 1949–50;* J.H.S. LXXI.

Most of the Herodian Temple was destroyed by Titus in A.D. 70, but there are still many places where the massive lower courses of the peribolos survive. Two immense jamb-stones mark the Golden Gate[3] and there is another one at the Eastern Huldah Gate, while at the Western Huldah Gate we have a great part of the original structure, including the central gate pier, the walls of the vestibule, and the door lintels still *in situ*. All these gateways have now had their outer doorways blocked up and what were once passages have become chambers, approached only from the interior of the temenos.

Pl. II, 1 is a view of the interior of the Western Huldah Gate vestibule, showing a side-door (*a* in Fig. 3) which must once have opened into an adjacent chamber, perhaps a gate-keeper's lodge, though it is now blocked. The doorway is not mentioned by de Vogüé; probably it was completely concealed by plaster when he made his observations, as his account is full and accurate in other respects.

As mentioned before, the Western Huldah Gate is walled up, and it is also partly masked by adjacent buildings; nevertheless, a good deal of the first-century stonework is still to be seen on the outside (south) face of the peribolos. Pl. II, 2 shows one of the enormous Herodian lintels, five and a half metres long and nearly two metres thick, with its characteristic drafted margins. It is partly hidden by an ornamental archivolt which de Vogüé assigns to the sixth century.[4] Other Herodian stones are visible in the lower part of Plate II, 2, and the small extent to which the lintel oversails the line of the stones below will be noted as an extraordinary feature. The arris of the former doorway is indicated by the perpend on the left-hand side of the Herodian stones, close to the measuring staff in the illustration; the oversail is only a few centimetres wide and cannot possibly have provided sufficient seating for the lintel while the doorway was yet unblocked[5]. The discrepancy can be resolved if we assume that the door openings were originally narrower than now appears, and that there were vertical lining-stones on either side of each opening. As well as making neat jambs for the doorways, such liners would have increased the area upon which the lintels bore; they could have been up to forty centimetres thick without making the doorways unduly narrow. The best-known example of such a feature is on the Acropolis at Athens. Pl. III, 1 shows the central doorway of the Propylæa with fragments of the marble lining stones restored into place. They are assigned by Penrose to a later date than the Periclean buildings[6] and may be not far from the date of Herod's temple.

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[3] de Vogüé, *op. cit.*, p. 12. The two Herodian stones are drawn in solid black in Fig. 2, and one of them is visible in Plate III, 3, half hidden by the free-standing column on the left.

[4] de Vogüé, *op. cit.*, pp. 68, 69 and Pl. V.

[5] Compare the lintel of the West Gate to the Temple, which has a seating well over a metre broad at each end. de Vogüé, *op. cit.*, Pl. III.

The surmise as to the existence of lining-stones at the Western Huldah Gate is supported by evidence from the neighbouring Eastern Huldah Gate. On the outside wall-face nothing remains of the latter, except for a single block of stone which belongs to the lowest part of its eastern jamb (Pl. III, 2)[7]. It will be seen that this single stone is carved into two distinct members. First, on the left hand in the illustration, there is a smooth face with the characteristic drafted margins, corresponding with and continuing the ashlar of the wall. Secondly, on the right and immediately beside the now blocked gateway, there is a portion of fascia and cyma moulding, 37 cm. wide, which represents a door-frame or vertical architrave, and which must originally have continued through the whole height of each door-jamb. It is just such a frame that seems to be missing from the Western Huldah Gate, and as the two entrances were twin features in the same façade it seems likely that each would have had the same decoration. (It must be remembered that the name "Triple Gate", by which the Eastern Huldah Gate is now known, refers to a mediæval alteration.) It may, therefore, be not unreasonable to suppose that both the Huldah Gates originally consisted of twin openings with monolithic lintols above and narrow lining-stones on either side (see Fig. 3), these liners being decorated with the cyma and fascia mouldings which now survive only at the Eastern Huldah Gate.

If this hypothesis is correct, it will be seen that the stone at the Eastern Huldah Gate really comprises two quite separate architectural members: the ashlar of the wall and the liner of the doorway. The practice of carving a monolith to represent more than one stone may, therefore, be recognised as a characteristic of Herodian masonry, for it will be remembered that the same peculiarity occurs at the Golden Gate, where a large jamb-stone is incised to represent several courses of the masonry in the adjoining wall[8].

Our three gates were destroyed by Titus in A.D. 70. We know that the Golden Gate was still in ruins some five hundred years later, from the description by the Pilgrim of Placentia, who wrote about "what was once the Beautiful Gate . . .with its threshold and gateposts still standing".[9] Yet the gate which we see to-day is a handsome vaulted vestibule richly decorated inside and out with sculptured cornices and acanthus friezes (Plate III, 3). When did this change take place?

Identical methods of construction noticed by de Vogüé[10] seem to show that, whenever the Golden Gate may have been restored, the Western Huldah Gate was also repaired at the same time. De Vogüé assigns both works to the end of the sixth century, basing his opinion on analogies between the sculpture of the gates and that of dated monuments elsewhere. Creswell agrees that the two restorations were contemporary but suggests a slightly later date, assigning both to the programme of rebuilding initiated by Modestus, after the Persian sack of Jerusalem in the year 614.[11] However, if the work is Christian, it seems strange that we find no Christian symbols in the sculptured decoration of either monument. Admittedly, de Vogüé thought he was able to detect a small cross or chrismon on the central column of the Golden Gate vestibule[12], but even that is problematical, and if Christian emblems had been carved by Christian builders we might surely expect them to be more conspicuous. Moreover, it may not be too much to say that the sculptor who decorated the inner surface of the vaults at the Western Huldah Gate seems to have gone deliberately out of his way to avoid the representation of a cross[13]. On the other hand, there is an oriental flavour in the acanthus pilaster capitals of the Golden Gate, with their unusual addition of cords,[14] and similarly in the rigidly geometrical ornament of the Western Huldah Gate. The quality of the stonework leaves little doubt that the masons were local men, but the decorations suggest that they were working, not under Modestus, but under the supervision of oriental, non-Christian architects. Thus the gates might have been restored by Persian architects, obeying the order which Chosroes gave for the reconstruction of the buildings in Jerusalem after he had sacked it; or, perhaps, the work is more likely to have been done under the 'Umayyad régime.

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[6] Penrose, *Principles of Athenian Architecture*, p. 62.

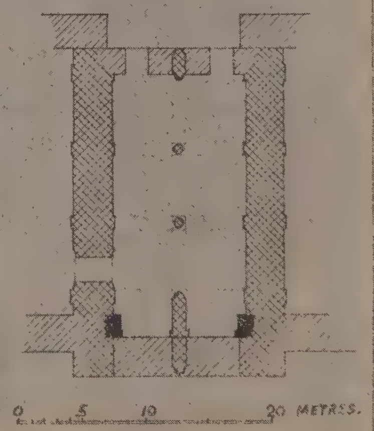
[7] See also de Vogüé, *op. cit.*, Fig. 9, on p. 11.

[8] *ibid.*, Fig. 10 on p. 12.

[9] *Antoninus Martyr*, Palestine Pilgrim Text Society translation, p. 15. See also K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, I, p. 317, note 5.

[10] de Vogüé, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

Fig. 2.
The Golden Gate.



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[11] Creswell, *op. cit.*, pp. 318, 319.
[12] de Vogüé, *op. cit.*, p. 66.
[13] *ibid.*, Pl. VI.
[14] *ibid.*, Pl. XII, and compare Van Berchem and Strzygowski, *Amida*, p. 245, Fig. 177.

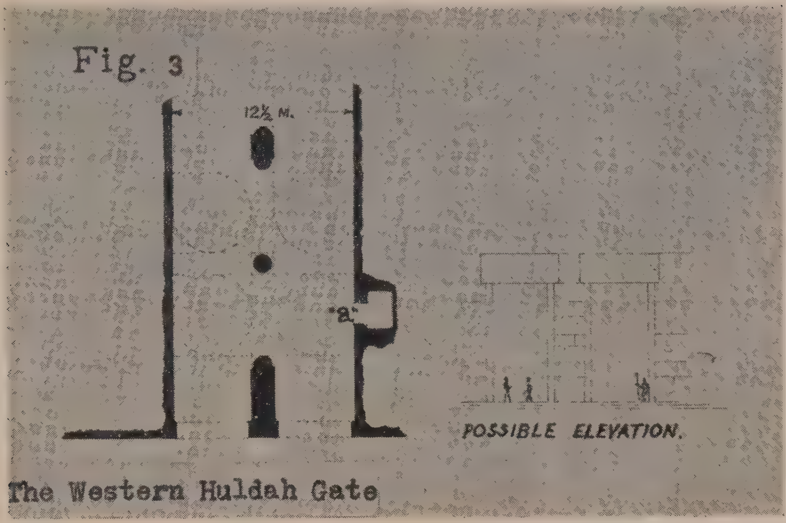

Fig. 3

The Western Huldah Gate

The restored vaults over the vestibules of both Golden and Western Huldah Gates are very much alike. In each case the roof is divided up into a series of square bays separated by shallow segmental arches which span the intervals between the vestibule walls and the large central columns. (Figs. 2 and 3 and Pl. III, 3.) The square bays are roofed with shallow saucer domes, adapted to the square plan which they cover by means of " continuous spherical triangle pendentives ". The analogies in structural technique noticed by de Vogüé[15] seem to show that the two sets of vaulting were constructed at the same time; nevertheless, there is an important and radical difference between the masonry of the two vaults which must now be explained.

Syrian pendentive domes, early specimens of which seem to be securely dated in the second century A.D., were constructed of dressed stone blocks laid in horizontal courses, each stone tapered and curved and built on temporary falsework, much as in modern practice. Figs 4 and 5 show, diagrammatically, the method of construction adopted. Fig. 4 shows the outline of a shallow stone dome raised on pendentives over a square base, *WXYZ*. (Part of one pendentive has been omitted so that the further side of the figure can be shown more clearly.) The whole structure is parts of a single sphere, centre *A*. Fig. 5 represents the same dome, but shows the interstices between the stones instead of the stones themselves; in other words, it is as though the stonework had been removed and only the mortar[16] which filled the joints had been miraculously left standing. In the upper part of the structure, i.e., in the cupola of the dome as opposed to its pendentives, it will be seen that the interstice between any two of the courses

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[15] de Vogüé, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

[16] As a matter of fact, the masonry was often built without mortar.

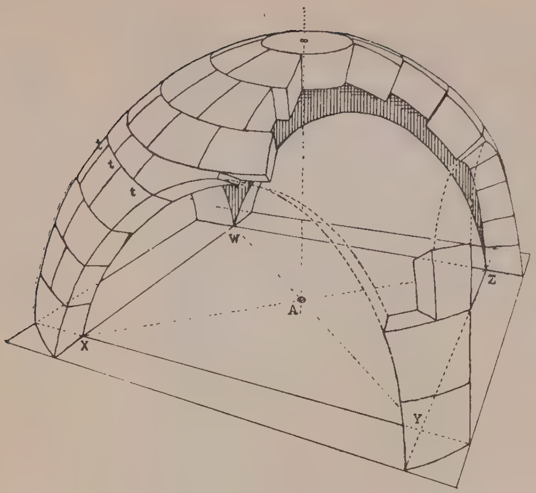

Fig. 4.

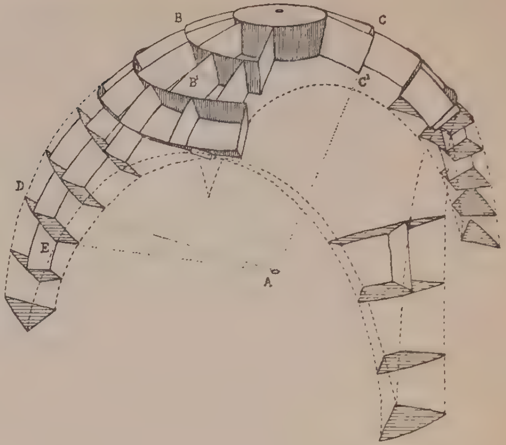

Fig. 5.

is a shallow, inverted, truncated cone, which has its apex at *A* (the centre of the sphere) and the height of which corresponds with the thickness of the masonry. The figure *BB′C′C* is a truncation of the inverted cone *BAC*. This rule applies to all of the cupola interstices; they have been shaded in the drawing with fine vertical lines.

However, in the early Syrian domes, unlike modern ones, the *conic* stone-beds are confined to the cupola and do not extend to the pendentives. The interstices of the pendentives are *plane surfaces*, inclined so that each plane would pass through the centre of the sphere if sufficiently extended. For example, in Fig. 5 the figure *DAE* is not part of a cone; it is a plane triangle, and the same is true of all the horizontal interstices in each pendentive. In Fig. 5 they are hatched with horizontal shading.

Another way of looking at this piece of geometry is to regard the several courses of the pendentives as a series of arches spanning the interval which the pendentive covers. The stones *ttt* on Fig. 4 would then be regarded as three voussoirs of an arch, normal in every respect except that they do not stand in a vertical plane. When looked at from this point of view the close relationship between the stones of a plane-bed pendentive and the stones of a squinch arch becomes immediately obvious. Stones *ttt* are merely a squinch arch laid over at an angle so that their intrados coincides with the sphere of the cupola. It seems probable that Syrian masons evolved their pendentives as a modification of the Persian squinch, in order to produce a neater transition from square to dome than can be effected by ordinary squinches. It is also possible that the form, though not necessarily the means of construction, had already been invented by Italian builders; at least, the marble revetment of a large and perfectly developed pendentive at Leptis Magna (A.D. 203) suggests as much.

However that may be, the courses of the Syrian pendentives are usually constructed not as cones but as segments in a plane surface. The joints in the pendentives thus have a curvature which differs from the curvature of the courses in the cupola above them, since one set occur in inclined and the other in horizontal planes. The difference between the two is accentuated by the ring of adapting stones which has to be inserted between the two kinds of coursing; they are plainly seen in Pl. IV, 1, which depicts the famous pendentive dome in the West Baths at Jerash. The plane courses of the pendentive make a fan-like pattern below, while the conic courses in the cupola appear as a series of horizontal concentric circles above.

The second-century domes at Jerash and Qusayr-an-Nuwayjis[17] are built in the manner just described; but some second-century domes seem to have been constructed on a different principle. In the small domed mausolæum at Samaria Sebastia[18] (Pl. IV, 2 and Pl. V) the conic setting of the stone courses is continued down into the pendentives, and every stone course in the vault is a horizontal, concentric circle (or segment of a circle) from the lowest springing of the pendentive right up to the eye of the dome. Admittedly the construction is rough and the geometry is not perfect, but the mason's intention seems clear; the pendentives in the Samarian mausolæum are set conically, like the courses of the dome proper above. They are not related in any way to squinches.

Let us now return to the Gateways in the Temple. The difference between the vaulting of the Golden Gate and the Western Huldah Gate is the same as the difference between the vaults at Jerash and Samaria. At the Western Huldah Gates the stones of the pendentives are set in planes; at the Golden Gate they are cones. This difference between the two vaults is clearly shown in Creswell's illustrations, Figs. 391 and 393, " Early Muslim Architecture," Vol. I, and the plane coursing of the Western Huldah Gate pendentives is also very clearly shown by Choisy[19]. In Pl. VI of " Le Temple " de Vogüé shows the same pendentives as having courses which are concentric with the middle part of the dome; but Creswell's photograph proves that de Vogüé was mistaken in this detail and that Choisy is right. The use of two entirely different principles of pendentive construction in two sets of vaulting which both belong to the same monument and which seem both to have been built at the same time is a curious circumstance. De Vogüé's demonstration that the two gates were restored simultaneously is convincing; but it still remains possible that while the walls and vault-seatings may be contemporary, one or other of the vaults may have been renewed again at an even later date.

Alternatively, the evidence which led de Vogüé to suppose that the two re-buildings were contemporary may have been misinterpreted; and this leaves us with the interesting possibility that the Western Huldah Gate vaults, with their plane-bedded pendentives, might really survive from the original Herodian building. This possibility is not ruled out by the sixth-century acanthus decorations, for they could have been applied to pre-existing structures at the Western Huldah Gate; though this is not the case at the Golden Gate.

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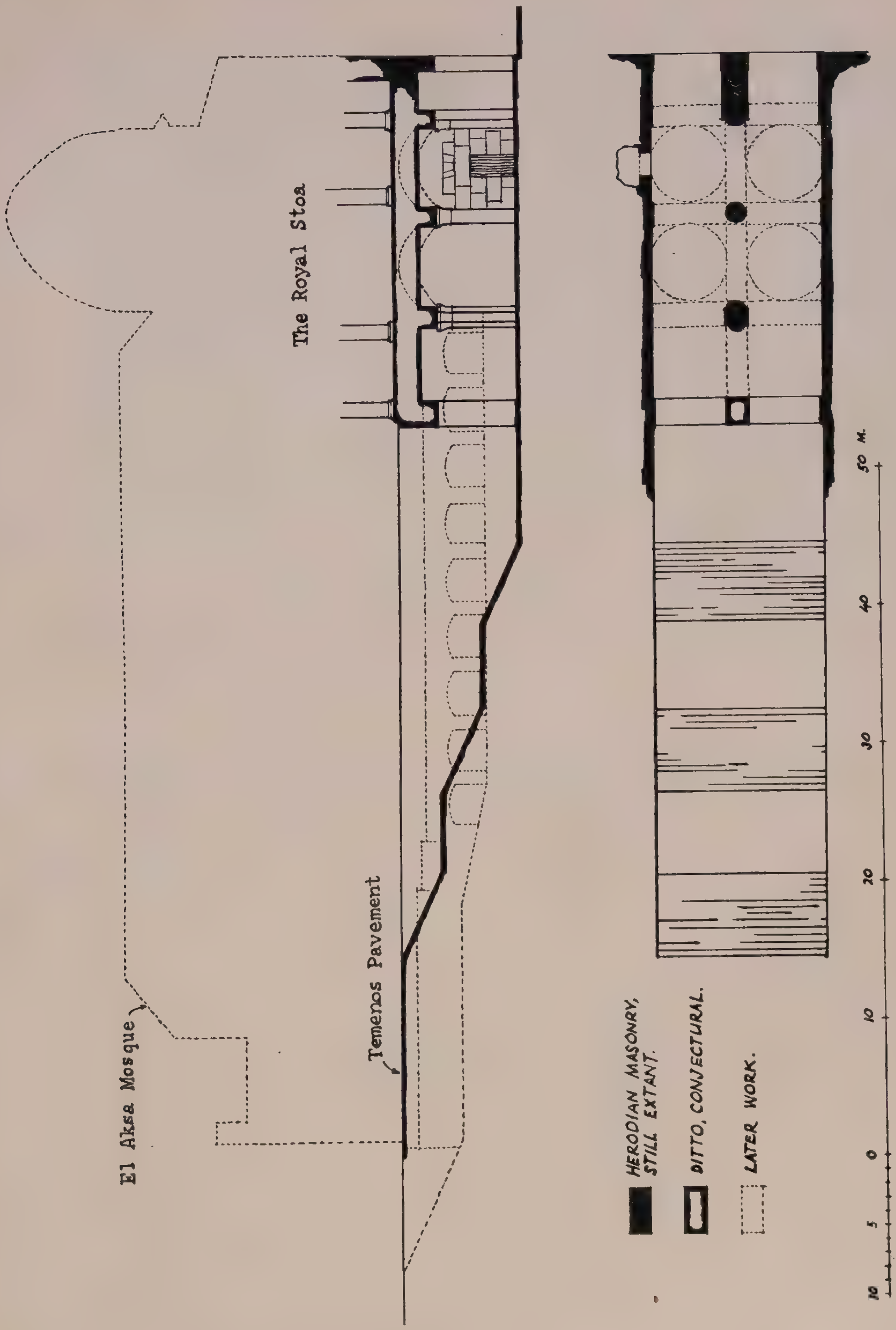
[17] Creswell, *op. cit.*, p. 313.

[18] R. W. Hamilton, *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities, Palestine*. vol. VIII, pp. 64–71.

[19] A. Choisy, *L'art de bâtir chez les Byzantins*, Pl. XV-2.

(Pl. II, 2, and III, 3 are from the collection belonging to the Palestine Archæological Museum.)


The Royal Stoa
Temenos Pavement
El Aksa Mosque
HERODIAN MASONRY, STILL EXTANT.
DITTO, CONJECTURAL.
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40
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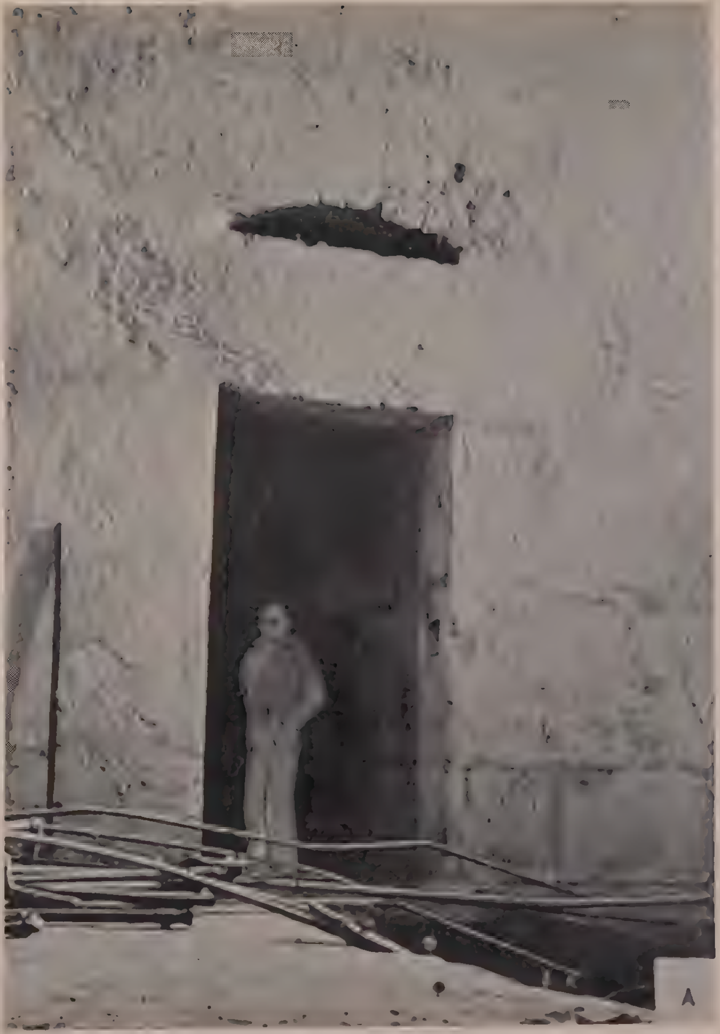
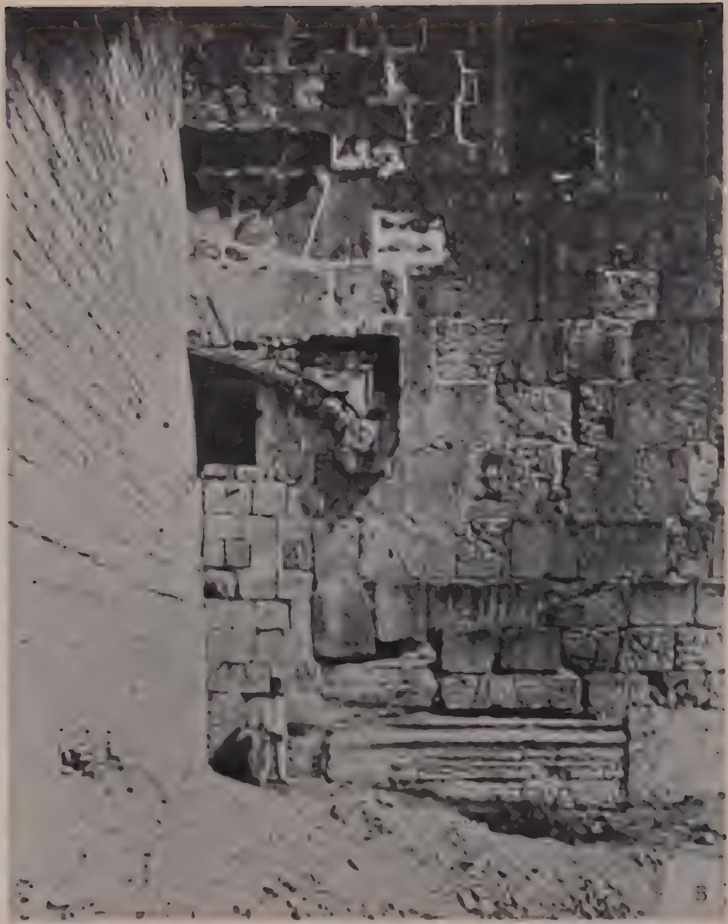
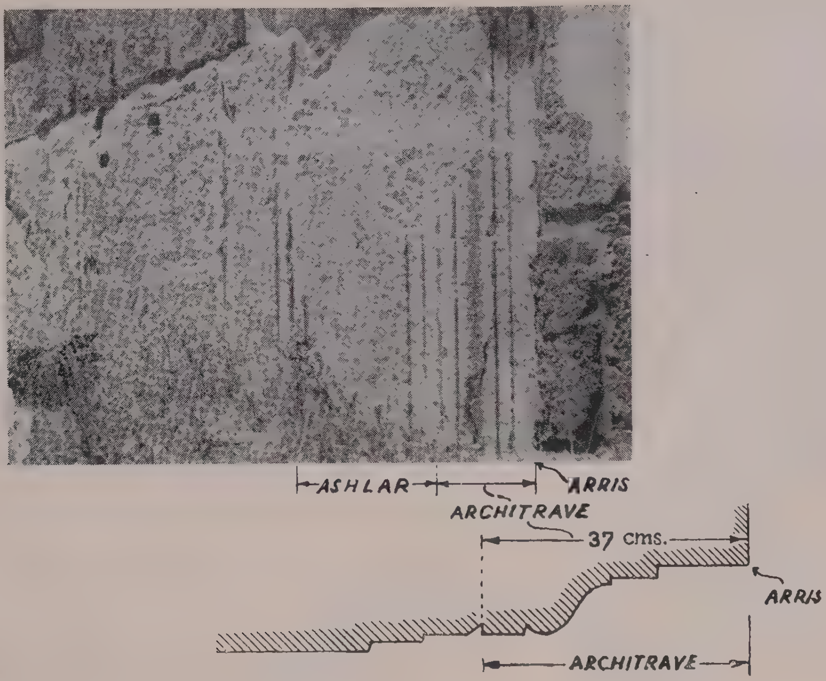
Plan and cross-section of the Western Huldah Gate.



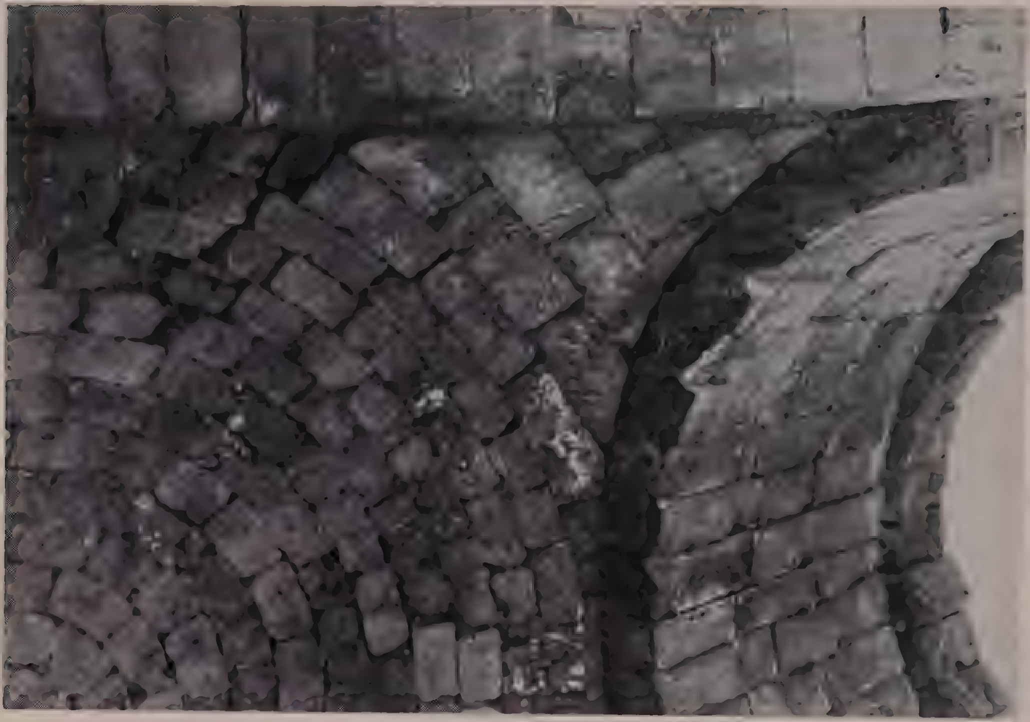
1.
Side-door inside the Western Huldah Gate Vestibule.
(Scale of the figure approx.)



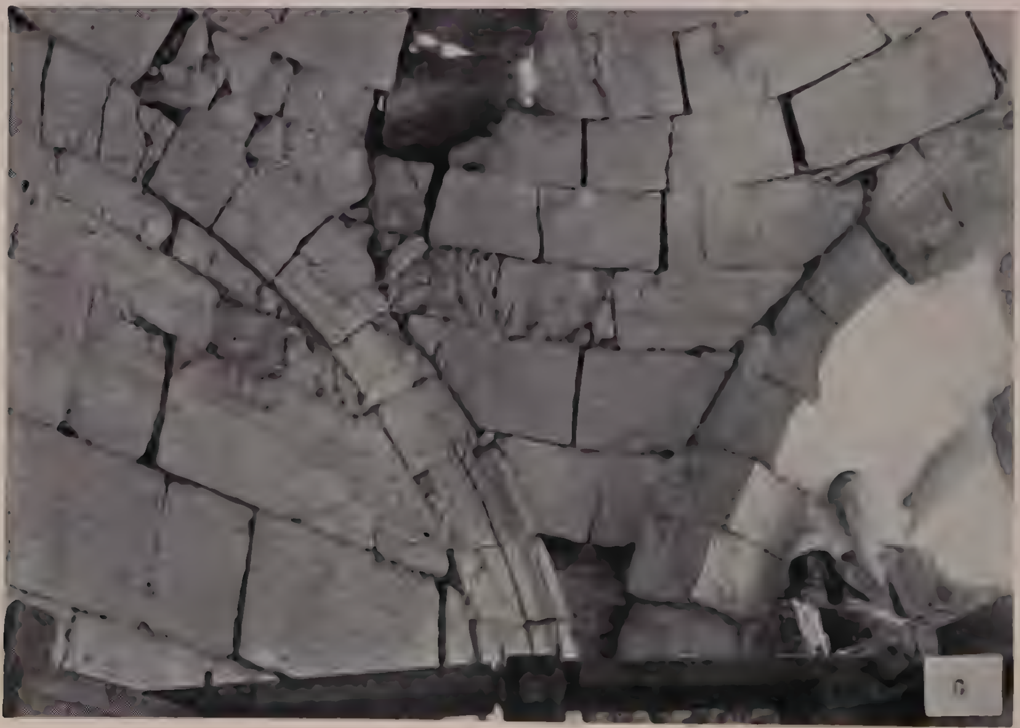
2.
Exterior of the Western Huldah Gate.

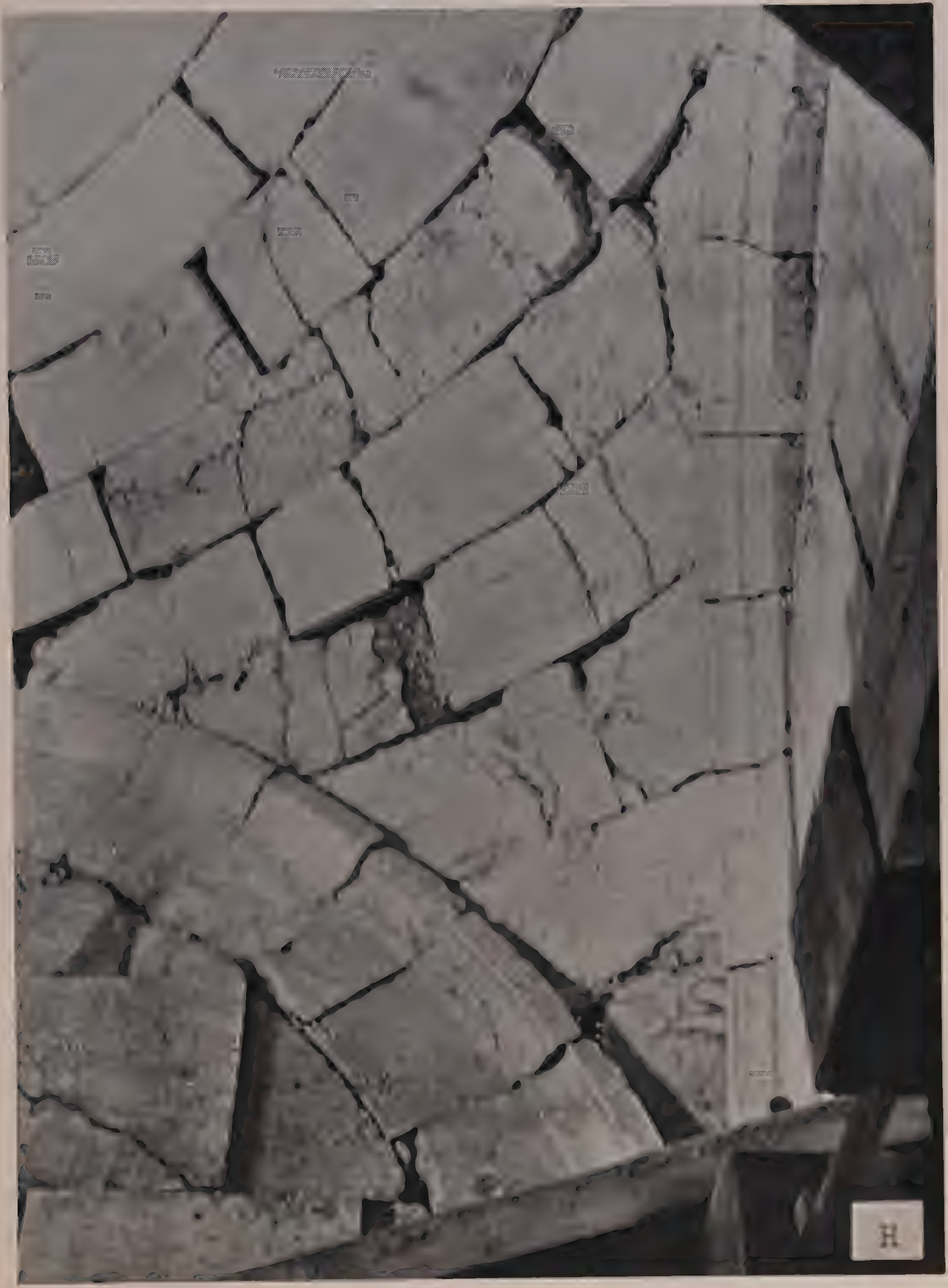

ASHLAR
ARRIS
ARCHITRAVE
37 cms.
ARRIS
ARCHITRAVE

2.
Jamb of the Eastern Huldah Gate.



1. Gerasa. Dome in the Western Thermae.





Samaria Sebastia. Interior of a Second-century domed Mausoleum.

FOLK TALES OF ARTAS—II

By GRACE M. CROWFOOT

As an example of the moral tale I offer " Haste is of the Devil," a story of Moses I have seen nowhere else, and following it one of the few I heard in the fairy tale (*Märchen*) class, " The Water's Lament," not recorded elsewhere, though the riddles set in it by the Woodcutter's daughter have a familiar ring.

From the favourite class of stories of real life, the *Erlebnisse* of Hans Schmidt, I have chosen one I call " Brotherhood and Sisterhood ", illustrative of a very interesting Palestinian custom. Brotherhood is often made between shepherds and shepherdesses so that they can have the right to help and protect each other, according to the formula given in the story. The custom is also sometimes practised by Christian pilgrims who make their vows in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, or by Moslem women before the journey to Mecca. The following is a case of this usage at Sebastiya: Haj Aisha went twice on the pilgrimage; the first time she travelled with her nephew, the second time she made brotherhood with a wealthy man in Nablus. They used the same form as at Artas. She said of it: " This made us brother and sister and we can sleep in the same room. By God's help we remain pure." The story told in Artas given here was said to be a true one, and the shepherd and his family were known and mentioned by name.

The last example, " The Peacemaking in Artas," is in a different category from the rest of the stories; it may be regarded as a folk tale in the making. The occurrence related, the visit of the Mufti and his judgment in the case of the two brothers at enmity with each other, was naturally an event over which the village seethed with excitement. It was an instance of the use of their own law, the calling in of a wise sheikh as judge to settle a serious dispute. First, the warring families have to agree and the sheikh be chosen. If the fee offered is acceptable and he decides to judge, a day is set well ahead so that he has ample time for receiving evidence from all concerned. On the day all is arranged to run like clockwork. The guiltier party already has a shrewd idea of what fine he will have to pay. As in other cases where money passes ceremonially, e.g., the dowry (*mahr*) and the blood fine (*diye*), a large sum is first named by the judge to assuage the injured party's sense of honour and then reduced for the sake of Mohammed and other holy men, until a figure traditionally reasonable is reached, decision given and the money paid over. Even then a rebellious spirit may protest, but rarely does more with the whole weight of village opinion against him. Indeed, the village is eternally disgraced that cannot uphold the verdict of the sheikh they have called. The proceedings end with the eating of the feast to seal the reconciliation.

After the successful conclusion of the Mufti's judgment, Miss Louise Baldensperger took down the description of the proceedings given her by women friends and then sent for me to come over and hear about it; the women had been at a distance and were only present to serve the feast but anything they missed they had learnt later from their husbands. Not many days had passed, but when I heard the story from the blind Alya it had already acquired a form and was ready to take its place among the village stories of Artas.

HASTE IS OF THE DEVIL

(*El ajal min esh-sheitan*)

Moses one day saw a woman who gave a camel driver five piastres to buy figs for her and a leather bag to put them in. On the way home the man took some of the figs from her bag and put them in his own.

Moses saw him do it. He said to God: " May I punish this man ? "

God said: " You are too hasty. It is not yet time for his punishment. Yet try —."

Moses stretched out his stick to beat the man, the camel was frightened and fell down and broke its leg. At home the children waited, the woman waited. God said : " Your punishment was too hasty. Who suffer ? The children, the camel and the woman."

Moses said: " From henceforth I will leave punishment to God."

THE WATER'S LAMENT

(*Wēl el Moiya*)

The Sultan and his Vizier once went to enjoy the air in the country outside. They gathered wood and wished to make a cup of coffee. They put the water on the fire. The water began to sing and wail. The Sultan said to the Vizier: " What does the water say ? "

" Water doesn't say anything, O Sultan."

" If you do not tell me what the water says I will cut off your head. I give you forty days to find the answer."

The Vizier went back home to his house and said to his wife: " I must dress as a dervish."

" What is the matter, O man ? "

" The Sultan said thus and thus. Now I must go round about among the villages of the fellahīn."

The Vizier went to the first village and sat down in the men's club (*saha*). There was water on the fire, crying out. He said: " O man, what is the water saying ? "

" Be quiet; enough, O man, put away such childishness."

He drank his coffee and took himself off to another village. He went to the men's club to obtain an answer. After he was rested he opened the case. "O men, what does the water say?"

"Does water speak? Be silent."

After he had drunk coffee he went to another village. He met a woodcutter returning home from the city. The woodcutter said to him: "Please come in to the club."

He went back to his house and said to his daughter: "O daughter, there is a dervish at the club, we must send him some supper." She got ready twelve eggs and a loaf of bread and a jug of water. "O my father, say to the guest: 'There are twelve months in the year, and the moon is full and the sea overflows.'" Arrived, he said to the dervish: "My daughter greets you and says to you: 'There are twelve months in the year, and the moon is full and the sea overflows'."

The dervish untied the kerchief and said: "Greet your daughter and tell her that there are eleven months, and the moon is not full and the sea does not overflow."

The woodcutter went back to his daughter. Thus and thus spoke the dervish. She said to her father: "O my father, what have you done?"

"I was hungry and I ate one egg and broke off a bit of the loaf and took a drink of the water."

The dervish said to himself: "Here is one who will interpret for us." Afterwards he said to her father: "Ask your daughter 'What does the water say when it is on the fire? It sings. What is the meaning of that which it sings?'"

The father said to his daughter, thus and thus said the dervish. The clever daughter of the woodcutter said: "I know what the water says but I will not tell you—ever."

The dervish said to her: "The Sultan will cut off my head if I do not give him the answer."

She said: "I will go to the Sultan. I will not tell it to anyone but the Sultan."

They went together to the Sultan, the dervish and the fellaha, the daughter of the woodcutter.

The Sultan said to her: "What does the water say on the day when it pipes on the fire?"

She replied: "I know, but I will not tell you until after you have married me. If you marry me I will tell you."

The Sultan said: "Shall I marry the daughter of a woodcutter?" The people said: "*Dahlak*, ya Sultan, we fear for the Vizier's head, his likeness is beloved (*surtuh mahbube*). Please marry her." So the Sultan married her and the next day he asked her: "What does the water say? (*Shu tehki el moiye?*)" and she replied:

"I gave them life when I ran in the wady
I watered their hanging branches
And with their fire I am burnt.

(*El asl minni w ana fil wad jarrēt*
Asket el ghusun el imdallaiye
W ibnarhum in kowet.) "

The water reproaches the wood, this is the reward for her kindness." The Sultan said to her: " You are the Sultana and I am the Sultan."

BROTHERHOOD AND SISTERHOOD

There was once a woman among the Bedu who was expecting her child and in her travail she fell senseless and her husband and her family believed her to be dead. So they wrapped her in a shroud and laid her in a cave as her burial place, as their custom is, and they mourned for her and went far away.

Now the woman was not dead, and in the night she awoke and her pains came upon her again, and her baby was born. And when the morning light came she saw she had a son and she praised God. She had no clothing for him but she tore pieces from her shroud of green and white cotton and wrapped him in them. Nor had she any food for herself but by the help of God her milk came in plenty for the boy.

On the third day she heard footsteps and cried out for help. A shepherd who was passing by heard her and came to the mouth of the cave. " Are you human or a spirit ? " (*Ans wala ginn ?*) said he. " *Dahlak*, I am a woman, shut in here, please take the stone away." Then he rolled the stone away from the mouth of the cave and entered in and found the mother with her baby. " How can I touch and help you ? " said he. " I must make brotherhood with you. We must put the sword and the Koran between us." (*Lazim nehutt beinna el sēf w el Koran.*)

They had no sword and no book but it is sufficient if these words are said from the heart. Therefore he said to her: " You are my sister in God's book. If you betray me may God betray you." (*Inti ukhti fi kitab Allah. In khuntini yehunik Allah.*) And she said to him: " You are my brother in God's book. If you betray me may God betray you." (*Ente akhuya fi kitab Allah. In khuntini yehunak Allah.*)

Then he brought food for her, giving her milk and cheese to eat. And he said: " How can I clothe you ? I will sell two of my master's lambs and buy garments for you." Thus he fed her and he washed her and clothed her. Afterwards she wandered with him and his flocks in the wilderness. If anyone said anything about the woman being with him he could say: " She is my sister." For truly those who make this promise can never marry each other but are as brother and sister.

At last her father passed by them and saw her, for the Bedu always go round and round and so return to the places where they have been before. The father said: " Our daughter ? It is she and yet not she ! " (*Hiya w mush hiya.*) But she spoke and told him: " I was buried and am alive."

So her husband received her back. Her father gave seven camels to the shepherd and her husband gave him fifty sheep. So he became rich. He never forgot his sister ; every year, at the great feast, the *Id el kebir*, he feasted her. (*Aidha kull sena.*) He used to send her either a sheep or the leg of a sheep. That is why this feast is often called *Id el Walaiya*, for on it the custom is for the brother to give to his sister.

It is terrible for a woman to have no brother to protect her—she is treated like a rag. But see now how fortunate this woman was. It is a great gain to have a brother.

THE PEACEMAKING IN ARTAS

There were two brothers who had gardens in the valley and they quarrelled over the water rights. Each said the other took more than his share. One day the younger brother came down to change the course of the water in the canal and the elder refused him, but he turned the water with his foot. Then the brothers fought together and another brother, Judah, came and he sided with the elder against the younger, and the elder, Ahmed Salim, struck the younger, Said, on the head and cracked his skull. There was a great row (*dōsha*). All the women left their pots and ran, all the dinners were burnt that day. Some of them joined in and helped by throwing stones —one up with her skirt and filled it full of stones—what a shame ! (*eb*) but she was a foreigner—and stones and sticks flew about. All the better show for the lookers-on ! (*El furji ahsan.*)

Now in the end the man who had his skull cracked went away to Bethlehem and there he sat and would not make peace. Now this became serious for he said he would sell his property to the Jews and leave the village and never return to it. Aye ! but well the people knew that then he would return by night and take his revenge. For these brothers were strong men —was it not their Mother who in the Night of Power (*Lel at el Qudr*) prayed " *Allah yezid māluh w ayyāluh*," and so it came to pass ? They were a strong house of boys. Therefore the people feared that much blood would be shed and they said " This must not be." They begged the elders of the village to make peace between the brothers. Then the elders consulted as to which sheikh should be asked to give judgment and they agreed, and the invitation was given to the Mufti to come to a feast of reconciliation and give judgment after the ancient custom, and assess what should be paid to the man with the cracked skull. For, indeed, the skull was still open and would not heal. Truly he had a very soft head and one easily cracked and he knew it and one of the old women said that the fault was his for not wearing a turban (*El ghalat mush labis laffy*). In olden days they would have mended the hole in his head by putting in a piece from the skull of a dog (did not the French doctor say that of all animals the dog is nearest to man ?). But now they have forgotten how to do this. Therefore the people were agreed that he ought to have some recompense, and the Mufti agreed to come on a day and judge what should be paid to him. So a day was set and the feast prepared.

There were made ready:

One black goat, and seven sheep of which one was a male and three were lambs, half grown.
Forty rotls of rice.[1]
Two rotls of clarified butter (*semn*).
A large tray (*saniyeh*) of sweet pudding (*knaffy*) worth a lira.
One rotl of butter and enough pear jam for more than 20 people, and little cakes and biscuits for the afternoon coffee.
One sack of coffee and a sack of sugar.
A sack of oranges and bananas.
As much bread as could be desired.
Two kinds of tobacco (*Tittun w tumbak*).

And besides all this that was prepared, during the day they had to send for six more rotls of mutton, a rotl of leban and a rotl of dried tomatoes.

On the appointed day, very early in the morning, they killed all the animals save the sheep for the sacrifice and began to cook the food, and they stuffed the three lambs with stone pine nuts (*snobar*) and rice. More than a hundred guests came, there was coming and going from morning to night. Relations of the family came from the villages round, Lifta, Beit Ir, Beit el Nur, El Khadr, and many of the *mashaikh* came from Hebron, Silwan, Walaji and Malha (these be " Salatin el Barr," those who give judgment and better judgments than those of the Government), and with them was also the Sheikh of the Ta'amre. There was also Kassis E'sa, the Latin priest from the Convent, and another Christian priest; there was Tallal, the Head of the Moslem Orphanage, and the Reis Baladiya (Mayor) of Bethlehem and other notable people. Motor after motor came; never were so many motor cars seen in the village as on that day. At mid-day the sacrifice was made, the sheep was slain before the door of the house of the aggrieved one, Said. The *wakil* of the Mufti, Sheikh Moussa, came to supervise and see that all was done properly. All the houses in the village then brought forth carpets and cushions in honour of the Mufti's visit and two rooms were prepared in the house of Said.

At the hour of afternoon prayer the Mufti came with all his people and two black slaves. More than forty worshippers went with him to the mosque and on their return they were served with coffee.

The great copper cauldrons (*minsaf*) were set out before the guests on the grass—boiling hot so that the food should not get cold before the talk was ended. For none must eat of the feast till agreement be made. The food then being set down and the guests assembled, the Mufti called the plaintiff and the two defendants and said to them: " You are brothers and this hatred between you must be settled in love. If that hatred remains nothing can be done, therefore you must untie the knot in love." The Mufti then (who had previously taken counsel with the *mashaikh* on the matter) gave judgment. He said: "I put down the fine for the beating at £300. How much will you present remit for the sake of God? (*fi wij Allah*)." They said £50. "How much for Our Lord (*Seidna*) Mohammed and all the prophets? (*Min shan S.M.* or *min khatr*)." They said £25. "For Our Lord Jesus (*Seidna Issa*) and the Christians?" They said: "A share equal to that of Mohammed and the other prophets, that is, £25." The Mufti said: "But Our Lord Mohammed should have a special portion." They agreed—£25. Thus the fine was reduced to £175.

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[1] The rotl here is 6lbs.

Then Said Derwish of Malha asked Said, the plaintiff: "What do you want to give for the Mufti who honours you and this place by coming here?" As there was no reply, Said Darwish cut down the sum by a further £50. Again the Mufti said: "What shall we put down for all the Christians our visitors who have come here? Put down another £25? Ye accept?" Good. "O Mufti," said Tallal, the headmaster of the Orphanage, "I speak for our brothers of the tribe and all the rest of the advisers present." "What do you desire?" asked the Mufti. He said: "£50." This left the fine as £50. But Ahmed Salim, the defendant, cried out: "We are not willing to pay such a sum, we want to pay £25 only." The Mufti replied to him, saying: "This is not your business" and turned again to the Headmaster sitting near him, saying: "At what sum shall we stop?" They agreed that the two defendants must pay £40 between them.

Ahmed Salim was angry and screamed out: "I am guiltless, I did not beat him and those who say I have to pay him £40 let them pay it. I prepared £20. I only brought £20 with me."

The Mufti became angry and rebuked Ahmed Salim and said: "I myself will pay the £40." Then Ahmed's uncles (his mother's brothers) spoke and also the Sheikh of Walaji and questioned the plaintiff Said: "Are you asking for money? Is it not enough that you have the honour of the Mufti and all these high ones of Palestine to come and visit you?" Said replied: "I want but my expenses." And Judah his brother said: "We are in the hands, the good hands, of the Mufti. What you give us, that we accept." Then the Headmaster Tallal gave the money, £40, into Said's hands.

The Mufti then said: "I have put down this £40, but I shall make my charges against this village for this day's work at £400." Then everyone was against Ahmed Salim, and he said: "I have not enough money to pay the fine. Give me two or three days. I have brought with me about £20. He then paid over £30 and the Mufti ordered him to bring the £10 afterwards to make up the fine. Then the Mayor of Bethlehem said: "Now, Ahmed Salim, come forward and ask pardon of the Mufti. We never expected such low behaviour." And Ahmed Salim came to the Mufti and kissed his hand and said: "I have sinned." Tallal cried: "It is not yet finished. Call Said and Ahmed Salim forward and let them kiss each other's heads. Six kisses, two on the head, two on the right shoulder and two on the left shoulder." After this was done all the relations kissed each other.

Ahmed Salim then invited them to sit down and eat. They put before the Mufti and the guests the meat from the lambs stuffed with *snobar* and rice; there was meat and rice to repletion. The Mufti called the reconciled brothers to sit near him. All were seated on the ground, and the Mufti sat on the ground also. (Truly he did, the Mufti sat on the ground with us.) As the guests were rising to depart Ahmed Salim asked them to remain and served the dish of *knaffy*. After this everybody present kissed the Mufti's hand and the women trilled.

Now, while this had been going on, a wedding had been taking place in the house of the Shehadys. The head of the family was not pleased because he had hoped to be asked to make the peace between the brothers and receive much money for this. So he had purposely made the wedding for his son on that day so that he did not have to be at the reconciliation feast. Now the procession of the Mufti had to pass by the house of the wedding. The Mufti asked what was the customary Bride Gift (the *Nuqt*, or "Drop") and they said £2. So he gave this as he passed and the young people all began to dance and to clap their hands.

Last of all on leaving the village the Mufti spoke of the serious state of the mosque and the elders promised that it should be repaired in honour of his visit; it was all that he asked of them.

This peacemaking was made on Wednesday, 27th February, 1935.

A year later most of the figures had grown—the first judgment was given as £500, the Bride Gift as £3. The mosque was as before, not yet repaired.

THE TOMBS OF SANHEDRIA

By JULIUS JOTHAM-ROTHSCHILD

SANHEDRIA, one of the new suburbs of Jerusalem, was named after a well-known ancient Jewish tomb believed to be the sepulchre of the Synhedrion, the ancient Jewish supreme court which came into being at the time of the Maccabees. It used to assemble in the Chamber of Gazith of the temple and was composed of seventy members and a president.[1] When, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, this famous rock-cut tomb was discovered, seventy burial shafts were counted; this led to the belief that the members of the Synhedrion must have been buried here. Careful counting, however, revealed that there are only fifty-five burial shafts (*kokhin*) and four *arcosolia* existing, whilst two small caves served for receiving ossuaries. Notwithstanding this fact, the city fathers adhered to tradition and named the new quarter Sanhedria. In former times this area was known by the name of *Rās el-krūm*, i.e., " the eminence of the vineyard ", or *Ard el-Merārīb*, " the field of the caves ". For convenience we shall keep to the modern name of Sanhedria, but its famous tomb, also known as the Tomb of the Judges, is to us simply Tomb XIV, as we know nothing of its origin and the family to whom it once belonged; but the fact remains that it is a family tomb, like all the others we shall describe.

The quarter of Sanhedria in which we find a vast Jewish cemetery dating from the time of the second temple is situated at the north-western boundary of the modern Jewish part of Jerusalem, where the Wādi el-Jōz meets the Wādi Umm el-Amād. The cemetery, consisting of a great number of rock-cut tombs, is actually the continuation of the 6.5 kilometres-long ancient Jewish burial ground which begins at the Wādi en-Nār and ends west of the village of Sha'afat.

When I first visited this area in 1905 I found altogether eight ancient Jewish tombs, all buried in the ground with the exception of Tomb XIV, which was accessible through an opening in the back of the *vestibulum*. In 1949 I counted twenty-one tombs in the Sanhedria area and another twenty on the opposite hill, and there may be many more hidden in the soil which the rain has swept downhill in the course of the centuries. A few of these tombs had been examined by Messrs. C. Schick and Macalister, especially the most conspicuous north of Tomb XIV; they have since then again partly disappeared under heaps of rubbish.[2] New discoveries were made when houses were built in the Sanhedria and Mahanaim quarters, but none of

[1] *Bab. Talmud*, tractate Yoma VII, 1–2.

[2] *Q.D.A.* 1932, p. 102; 1935, p. 168. *R.B.*, 1899, p. 298; 1901, p. 448. *Q.P.E.F.*, 1896, p. 306; 1900, p. 55; 1902, p. 118; 1904, p. 246. *Z.D.P.V.*, 1898, p. 39, etc.

these tombs was properly cleaned or examined. It was not until 1949 that the Department of Antiquities of Israel decided to make a start and entrusted me with the task of excavating at Sanhedria.

During the season of 1949 I cleared five tombs, and in 1950 another four, all of which were partly or completely filled with accumulated soil or débris, but in a perfect state of preservation. Unfortunately, all were pilfered by grave robbers in antiquity or in later centuries, and only in one case (Tomb VII) did I find a *kokh* (*loculus*) with the skeleton undisturbed but badly preserved.

Most of the Tombs of Sanhedria date from the first century B.C. Tombs VIII and XIV seem to be older and probably belong to the middle of the second century B.C. All are family tombs built by wealthy Jerusalemites, probably priests and rich Sadducees; poor people had to content themselves with simple graves marked only by a stone (מצבה) painted blue to prevent a priest from defiling himself by stepping over it unintentionally. Although such an act is considered unclean, the Talmud orders every Jew to visit the tombs of those who were dear to him, but makes it an obligation to take a ritual bath afterwards. In biblical times only kings or chieftains were buried in caves, probably also their wives and children; but family tombs as we find them in Sanhedria and elsewhere in the vicinity of Jerusalem were unknown in pre-exilic times and appear for the first time when hellenistic ideas and customs penetrated deeply into the life of the Jewish people. Tomb chambers cut in the rock for the reception of corpses were common in ancient Egypt, in Phœnicia, in Transjordan of the Nabatæans, and other countries bordering the Mediterranean; but the system of burials in narrow horizontal shafts and the custom of re-burial in ossuaries seems typically semitic and closely connected with the belief in bodily resurrection. It was for that reason that cremation was strictly forbidden. Nowhere have I found an urn with human ashes in a Jewish tomb, as de Saulcy did when excavating the Tomb of Queen Helena of Adiabene north of Jerusalem in 1863; and there seems no doubt that these urns contained the ashes of Roman officers who fell in the battle for Jerusalem in A.D. 70, or else belong to a later period when Jerusalem was completely heathen.

Judging from Bible accounts, the Hebrews of pre-exilic times seem to have been less concerned about a life hereafter than those in hellenistic times. The belief in an Underworld (שאול) where the soul lives an unhappy, shadowy existence seems to have been common amongst the ancient Hebrews.[3] The witch of En-dor brings up the shadow of Samuel and she sees " gods ascending out of the earth ".[4] She sees " an old man covered with a mantle ", which explains the ancient Jewish custom of burying the dead in the garment they used to wear when still alive.[5] In later times, when the corpse was simply shrouded in white or grey linen, a prayer-shawl was laid over it, a custom which has survived through the centuries and is still practised by the Jews all over the world. The prayer-shawl, which is still thrown on during divine service, is actually " the mantle " which every adult male Jew used to wear daily when walking in the streets of Jerusalem. It was worn by Jesus and his disciples and is still the most useful garment of the Arab, known as an Abayah.

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[3] Gen. xxxvii, 35; I Sam. xxviii, 7–20 *et seq.* *Ben Sira* XII, 11.

[4] *Bab. Talmud,* tractate Erubin V, 1. Gittin V, 4. Daniel xii, 2, 3.

[5] This custom was abandoned in Talmudic times.

The strong family feeling of the Jew, probably the cause of his survival, lasts not only during lifetime but even in death he likes " to be gathered to the fathers ". The fate of one member concerns the whole clan; father and sons rule the rest of the family. So it was in bygone times and so it is still with the nomads of the desert and the powerful oriental rulers. As a result, family sepulchres came into being, either purchased, as in the case of Abraham, or hewn from the rock in the form of tomb-chambers, as we know from the Bible and the account of Flavius Josephus.[6] Not to be buried in the family sepulchre was considered a divine punishment.[7] But in early times it was the privilege of kings to rest in tomb-chambers, and not until hellenistic times do we find the custom spread amongst the priests and well-to-do of Jerusalem. The elaborate system of tomb-chambers, of burial shafts and rock-benches, carefully arranged and worked, seems to indicate that it was desired that on the day of resurrection all would rise together and keep the bond which kept them together during life on earth. But resurrection would take place in Jerusalem, the only city whose soil was considered holy, as is still believed by the pious of all three world-religions; and for this reason the bodies of those who used to dwell in foreign lands were carried by camel, mule or donkey to Jerusalem, to be laid to rest in the family tomb. Jews living in distant countries were first buried at their place of residence until decomposition was complete. The bones were thereafter collected, shrouded and anointed, and sent to Jerusalem in ossuaries or coffins.

If we believe the account of Flavius Josephus of the different opinions prevailing amongst the Sadducees and the Pharisees about life hereafter, or complete destruction of soul and body, the question arises why the rich Sadducees spent so much money on luxurious sepulchres. The only answer to this question is, in my opinion, that it was the result of their wish to imitate royal prerogatives. The high priests of that period were of Hasmonaean descent, and not only officiated in the temple but lived in a palace surrounded by court officials and a royal guard. They commanded armies, fought battles and amassed wealth much to the annoyance of the masses which kept to Pharisaic teaching. Aristobulus, the son of John Hyrcanus in 104 B.C. assumed the title of king and it may be that in his time

[6] Flavius Josephus, II *Ant.* XIII, 8, 4; XVI, 7, 1; II Macc. xii, 39; *Bell. Jud.* V, 3, 2.

[7] I Kings 13, 22.

the vast sepulchre, known as Herod's Tomb, was built some four hundred metres distant from the city, and south of the rampart.[8]

We must therefore assume that all those monumental tombs which we find in the vicinity of Jerusalem were the property of priestly families. In fact, the Beni Hezir, whose rock-cut sepulchre can still be seen in the Kidron valley, were priests,[9] and a priest with his family was buried in one of the tombs north of Tomb XIV at Sanhedria, as an inscription indicates. Unfortunately, no inscriptions were found at Sanhedria which could provide a clue as to who were the owners of those monumental tombs or the names of those buried inside some two thousand years ago.

It was the costly fashion of that time to own a family tomb. There are instances mentioned in the Talmud where people incurred debts or had to raise mortgages to pay for the mounting expenses when building a family tomb. Some were even compelled to sell them to others.

At the time when building activities in Jerusalem reached their peak, first under the Hasmonaeans and later under Herod the Idumaean, the valleys surrounding Jerusalem were filled with a multitude of stone-cutters and labourers blasting rocks and sending blocks of stone by oxen and slaves to the numerous building sites in the city. The temple on Moriah was first repaired and fortified and later built anew; the rampart was repaired and enlarged and provided with a great number of towers. Herod built a palace for himself in the south-west corner of the city on an eminence overlooking the Akra; the streets were paved and the fortress of Antonia made a modern stronghold in the Roman style. When a quarry was abandoned the site was sold by contractors to the wealthy Jewish families of Jerusalem for family tombs. The cliffs were cut vertical and dressed by hammer and chisel (Fig. 1) ready for the workmen to start cutting the sepulchre. The medium hard Melekke stone which prevails in and around Jerusalem was ideal for

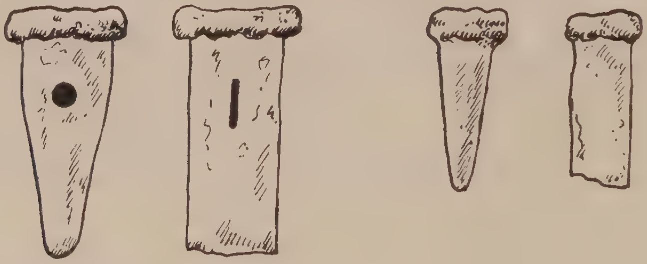

Fig. 1.

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[8] Herod was buried in the Herodium, east of Bethlehem. Josephus (*Bell. Jud.* V, 3, 2) mentions a Monument of Herod which stood in the neighbourhood of the Royal Sepulchre mentioned above. Of this monument C. Schick found some remains in 1892. I found some more to the south and close to the sepulchre when excavating the forecourt in 1950. The excavations are not yet completed.

[9] I Chron. xxiv, 15.

such work; it could easily be blasted with quicklime or by expanding moistened wooden wedges.[10] The main features of the tombs are (*a*) the forecourt (חצר), (*b*) the vestibule (פרוזדור), and (*c*) the central chamber with adjoining side-chambers. (Plate VII.) The number of chambers was according to the number of family members or according to means at the disposal of its head. It also often depended on the hardness of the rock met inside, a fact which was confirmed by several unfinished chambers we found in Tombs V, VIII and XX. Typical of the way the stone-cutters used to hollow out the rock is chamber I of Tomb V. Here we see a piece of rock measuring approximately two square metres protruding from the wall and roughly dressed. The square groove cut into the rock-wall is nearly 0.40 metres deep and wedge-shaped.

After having carefully examined and measured the area, the stone-cutters started to cut the forecourt from the living rock. They worked their way down to a fixed point, which was determined by the planner, deep enough to leave a sufficiently high front for the vestibule and chambers. The forecourt, which, in most cases, is rectangular, is often surrounded on two or three sides by benches cut from the rock and slopes gently towards the vestibule to allow rainwater to escape and to prevent the flooding of the chambers. The entrance to the forecourt, usually opposite the vestibule, is either level with the floor, or has a flight of steps, all depending on the topographical conditions of the site. Next came the vestibule, open to the forecourt, either simple or decorated with sculpture in the style of the period. The floor of the vestibule is always somewhat higher than the floor of the forecourt. The entrance to the tomb-chambers was either in the centre, i.e., in the back of the vestibule, or at the right. We find them in most cases provided with a groove into which a slab could be placed fitting exactly, as can be seen from Fig. 2. Only in exceptional cases do we find an entrance of normal size so that a person could enter upright. The entrance is usually not higher than 0.75 metres and not wider than 0.50 to 0.60 metres,

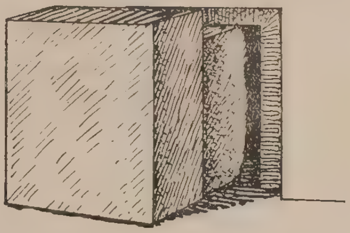

FIG. 2.

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[10] When excavating at Sanhedria I found a tomb (Tomb XXI) started and worked to a short distance inside the entrance, when it was abandoned by the stone-cutter as the rock inside proved to be too hard for the then primitive iron tools.

just big enough to allow a normal-sized person to crawl in. Some Jewish tombs could be closed by a stone door, or by a rolling stone pushed forward by means of a lever. Such mechanical devices were not found in Sanhedria, and only Tomb XIV had a door of which only the two holes for the pivots have been preserved. Tomb XIX shows traces of a rolling stone originally used for closing the entrance.[11]

The first, or central, chamber is usually the largest of the chambers; its floor is in all cases lower than the floor of the vestibule. From here openings lead to the side-chambers, the floors of which again are lower than the floor of the central chamber. Inside we find four different systems for the reception of corpses: *kokhin* (כוכין), horizontal burial shafts, between 1.75 metres and 2.00 metres long, from 0.45 to 0.50 metres wide, and, on an average, 0.75 metres high. They are nearly always vaulted and have at their opening a groove for a slab which shuts off the *kokh* from the chamber. We shall discuss its functional purpose in connection with the burial rites of the period to which the Tombs of Sanhedria belong. Next are the *arcosolia* or burial niches, which we find cut in the walls of some chambers. They are usually 2.00 metres long and 0.60 metres deep and arched over. (Plate VIII.) Such niches were provided for coffin-burials. The same purpose was served by the third kind of arrangement we find in separate chambers, where benches were cut on three sides to hold three coffins. The fourth kind of receptacle is the sarcophagi, movable stone receptacles in which the corpses were laid to rest, and stationary ones carved from the bottom of an *arcosolium* and closed by a lid. (Plate VIII.) In the right-hand corner of the central chamber of Tomb VI we discovered a trough-shaped hole 1.14 metres long, 0.90 metres wide and 0.50 metres deep, (Fig. 3) but I am not sure whether this cavity served for a child burial or some other purpose unknown to me.

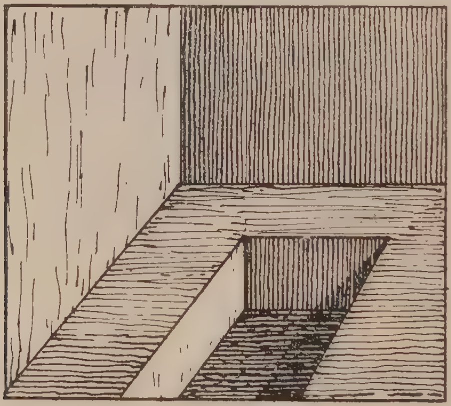

FIG. 3.

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[11] *Bab. Talmud,* tractate Kethuboth I, 1.
Nazir VII, 2.

The question arises: What was the reason which induced the Jews of that time to provide for such a variety of resting places for their dead ?

With regard to the *kokhin*, or horizontal burial shafts, we have sufficient evidence. The Talmud gives directions for their arrangement and purpose. I found quite a number of such shafts undisturbed when excavating in Tiberias in 1921 and some in the vicinity of Jerusalem. We know of burials in sarcophagi, but what of the *arcosolia* and benches ? Remains of wooden coffins have been found here and there, but it could be established with certainty that they date from a period several hundreds of years later. The only solution of the problem seems to be that these niches and benches were reserved for family members living abroad or at a distance from Jerusalem, or that burials were customary at that time either in coffins or without. For the reception of ossuaries we found separate small chambers in nearly all of the tombs of Sanhedria. Further explanation will be given at the end of this article, when we deal with the funeral rites prevalent at the time the tombs were arranged.

There is yet another problem demanding explanation. It has to do with the working conditions inside the rock. It must have been extremely difficult for the stone-cutters to work inside a dark or semi-dark chamber by the light of primitive oil lamps or torches. The lack of oxygen makes breathing extremely difficult even when one enters a chamber during excavation, as I have felt myself many times, but it is hard to imagine how a man could work inside a narrow shaft, 2.00 metres long, lying on his stomach with an oil lamp near his head. How did he move his arms when working with hammer and chisel inside a shaft only 0.50 metres wide ? Anyone having an opportunity to examine such a *kokh* must be surprised to see it not only perfectly shaped but even perfectly dressed, the traces of the pickaxe still preserved as perfect as they were two thousand years ago. As was the case with Tomb XXI, so it is with some of the *kokhin* left unfinished when the stone-cutter met unexpectedly hard rock which he was unable to work with the soft iron tools at his disposal.

The chambers are all rectangular but of different sizes and heights. The largest, the central chamber of Tomb XIV, is nearly 6.00 metres long, 5.70 metres wide and 3.00 metres high. The smallest (Tomb VII) measures 2.25 × 2.25 metres and is 1.57 metres high. On an average, the size of the chambers and *kokhin* compares favourably with the rules laid down in the Talmud, but with regard to the arrangement of the *kokhin* it seems that each stone-cutter followed his own ideas. There is no uniformity in the arrangement of the tomb-chambers and *kokhin*. This may probably be due to the hardness of the rock, which is not of equal quality, sometimes soft, sometimes hard and crystalline. The Tombs of Sanhedria must have been accessible long after the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70, as crosses carved in the rock near or above the entrances indicate that some of them served hermits as abodes. The great number of tesserae we found in many places seems to indicate that these anchorites had a chapel somewhere between the tombs. A number of ancient rock-cut winepresses which can be seen here and there, the best preserved in front of Tomb XII, may be the work of these holy men. We have already mentioned the existence of large vineyards in this area which is now replanted with trees and flowers.[12]

We started excavations in October, 1949, at Tomb XIV, the so-called Tomb of the Judges or Synhedrion. The interior had not changed since I first visited Sanhedria in 1905, except that more rubbish had accumulated in most of the chambers. Nothing of special interest was found inside. As detailed descriptions of Tomb XIV can be found in every guide-book I shall abstain from repeating what others have already reported of its interior arrangements and finely decorated façade. From outside the soil had accumulated to a considerable height and up to the step of the vestibule. After having cleared all five chambers I started at the forecourt. It took a considerable time to remove the débris which, at some points, had reached a height of 2.60 metres. We soon met a wall of Arab origin 1.00 metres high and 1.50 metres broad, which ran along the forecourt in an easterly direction, ending at the step of the vestibule and dividing it in two halves. It soon became evident that at some time in the Middle Ages Arabs had built a caravanserai in front of the tomb, which had probably collapsed during an earthquake. Large blocks of the vaulted roof were found in the southern part of the forecourt mixed with hundreds of sherds of mediæval Arab pottery. In contrast to the southern part of the forecourt, the northern half was left vacant, and here we found great masses of broken ossuaries, sarcophagi smashed to pieces, broken glass vessels and sherds, all typical of the hellenistic period. The forecourt was found surrounded on three sides by perfectly preserved benches cut from the rock on which the congregation used to sit when the last rites were performed. In the northern corner an entrance was found to some building, but at this point excavations could not be carried out as that corner is blocked by a huge mound. It is hoped that when excavations begin this season we shall learn more about this part of the forecourt. In front of this entrance, within the forecourt, we found a square pillar about 1.00 metres high still *in situ*. On it the censer was placed during the ceremony. The purpose for which a fairly large basin was cut in the rock-floor of the forecourt separating the northern bench is not yet explained. (Plate VII, fig. 1.) Part of an Arab wall built around the forecourt was found resting on ancient Jewish masonry; its actual height can no longer be established. The forecourt of Tomb XIV measures 9.90 metres in breadth and 9.30 metres in length, and is second only to the forecourt of the Tomb of the Kings (Mausoleum of Queen Helena of Adiabene), which, however, has no benches. No similar forecourt of a Jewish tomb has ever been found in the Holy Land.

There was still visible a square shaft in the southern part of the vestibule, which was thought to have served for ablutions in antiquity. It was filled

[12] A now ruined square tower built on a rock in the vicinity of Sanhedria is still called Qasr el-Krūm, i.e., "the fort of the vineyard".

with rubble up to the brim. When cleared out it soon became apparent that it served quite a different purpose. At a depth of 2.80 metres I found the entrance to yet another tomb, and opposite a cave containing the lid of a sarcophagus of Herodian times. (Fig. 4.) The tomb opposite was found to be a single tomb with a sunken, trough-shaped receptacle beneath an arch. It seems to have been the tomb of a family member who had died long after all shafts and benches in the upper chambers had been occupied. The arrangement for lowering the corpse and sarcophagus can still be seen. Excavations at Tomb XIV will continue in the near future. The next step will be to clear the area north of the tomb, where I hope to find the remains of the guard-house and the main entrance to the forecourt.

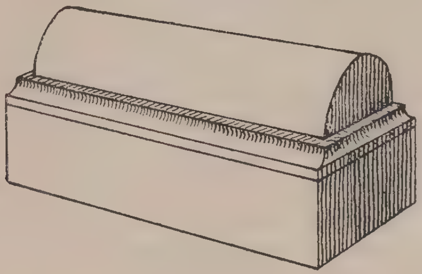

FIG. 4.

About a hundred metres south-east of Tomb XIV is Tomb IX, which consists of a single chamber with two *kokhin* and one *arcosolium*. The chamber was at some time considerably enlarged and deepened by Arabs to serve as a cistern for the caravanserai at Tomb XIV. Close to Tomb IX a trough can be seen in the rock which served the caravans travelling along the road to Nebi Samwil, Emmaus, Lydda and Cæsarea Maritima. It is the old Crusader road which connected their stronghold of Montjoie with Jerusalem.

Farther south three other tombs can be seen which we excavated shortly afterwards: they are Tombs XVIII, XIX and XX. Of these three tombs which have been cut in one long rock of pure Melekke, Tomb XIX is the most conspicuous. Apparently the front wall had been cut away to expose the vestibule and the entrance to the central chamber. Originally the main entrance was closed by means of a rolling stone of considerable size, held in position by an upper and lower groove ending in a vertical slit. At the left a hole with a rock-bench can be seen, intended to enable a person to push the rolling stone into position with his feet. It was a great surprise when we discovered in front of Tomb XIX part of the ancient quarry with two large blocks of stone perfectly dressed on four sides but still one with the rock at the bottom. The largest of these blocks weighs nearly nine tons and must have been intended to be used for the city wall which was repaired and enlarged by Herod. At the bottom of the second block we found the tools (Fig. 1) which the stone-cutter apparently had forgotten when leaving the quarry. Tomb XVIII consists of two chambers and a chamber for ossuaries. In the chambers we found three *kokhin* and three *arcosolia*. In Tomb XIX we found no *kokhin* but three chambers with rock-benches for coffin burials. Tomb XX has one chamber and at its end a small chamber with unfinished benches; four *kokhin* are cut in three walls. In the right wall of the vestibule there is an ossuary chamber which was left unfinished. In the debris of the second chamber of Tomb XX a clay lamp was found dating from the first century B.C.

About a hundred metres farther east Tomb VIII was discovered some years ago with its forecourt, vestibule and chambers filled with accumulated soil and rubble. (Plate VII, fig. 2.) Its great vestibule, measuring 7.05 metres in length and 4.17 metres in width, was cut from a huge rock, *c.* 5.00 metres high, penetrating deep into the hill. Access to the tomb could formerly be gained by a flight of sixteen steps leading down to the forecourt.[13]

The vestibule was adorned with two columns and two pilasters cut from the rock. The forecourt revealed two rock-seats on either side. The façade which resembles that of the Tomb of the Beni Hezir in the Kidron valley, imitating the Doric order in a rather crude execution, is nevertheless imposing. One of the columns is missing and was probably destroyed by treasure-hunters. In the debris of the vestibule a handcuff was found pointing to the ancient custom common to Arabs and Jews alike to bring lunatics to the tomb of a saint (*maqām*) for cure. I witnessed such a scene myself some forty years ago, when Arabs carried a wildly gesticulating maniac to such a place on Mount Carmel. They told me that the evil spirit of which the wretched woman was possessed would escape from her body when inside the dark tomb-chamber. Her screaming was considered a sign that the devil was extricating himself with terrible pain. Tomb VIII consists of a central chamber and two chambers reserved for ossuaries, of which that at the right of the central chamber was left unfinished. The fourth chamber shows four *kokhin* beneath three *arcosolia*.

Work on these tombs had to be suspended for it was already late in the year and the rainy season approaching.

In the fall of 1950 I started excavating Tombs V, VI and VII, which are situated south of Tomb XX.

The entrances to Tombs V and VI were found blocked by huge blocks of rock. At some unknown time the ceilings of both tombs had cracked when the area was shaken by an earthquake, causing their unsupported parts to fall. The removal of these obstacles made access to both tombs possible.

Tomb V had at some time served Christian hermits as dwelling. The ceiling of the central chamber was blackened with smoke and the entrance marked by a cross carved in the rock. Inside I found one *arcosolium* in the left wall of the central chamber, and in the opposite wall a small ossuary chamber with an unfinished *kokh* near by. From the central chamber a low, narrow entrance leads to a second chamber, which the stone-cutters had left unfinished. Both chambers had served pious Jews until recently as a Geniza, i.e., a place where defective Hebrew books, scrolls and phylacteries are deposited. They had accumulated to a considerable height, completely blocking the entrance to the second chamber. The floor of the vestibule was found cut in many different angles and in steps for quarrying purposes.

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[13] This staircase has, meanwhile, been rebuilt for the convenience of visitors.

Tomb VI, separated from Tomb V by a rock-wall, is similar in plan but larger. In the central chamber the rock is pierced by six *kokhin*, their floors level with the floor of the central chamber, three at the left and three at the back. A raised opening in the back of the chamber within a pentagonal niche leads to a small chamber arranged for coffin burials. In the last *kokh* at the left of the central chamber the skeleton of a young person was found lying with its feet towards the chamber. A spindle-whorl and a broken dish were the only objects found in the dust which had accumulated in the *kokh*. The teeth were in perfect condition and showed not the slightest sign of decay.

The forecourt and vestibule of Tomb VII were found hidden in a heap of soil and débris, and nearly two hundred cubic metres of such had to be removed to clear the site. The floor of the forecourt was uncovered at a depth of 3.50 metres. Here a peculiar incident must have shocked the stone-cutters two thousand years ago. They had miscalculated the strength of the rock at the right of the vestibule and by mistake met the *kokh* of Tomb VI, where the skeleton was lying. The rock gave in and exposed the corpse. It is now possible to enter Tomb VI by the gap in the vestibule of Tomb VII. There were yet other surprises in store for us. Incidentally, a large boulder had been rolled towards the entrance of the tomb, completely blocking the central chamber from outside. Consequently the latter was found in a perfect state of preservation. The floors of all three chambers were covered with a layer of *terre pisé* consisting of lime mixed with stone powder and ash and smoothed with a stone-cylinder. Two side-chambers were found adjoining the central chamber (Plate VI), one at the back of the central chamber and one at the left. In the chamber at the back three *arcosolia* had been arranged on three sides 0.81 metres above the floor, but in the chamber left of the central chamber I discovered two quite uncommon *arcosolia*. Both, carved from the soft rock, are of exceptionally fine workmanship. That at the left side of the chamber shows a smooth face with a moulding, whilst that opposite the entrance had been adorned with three rosettes artistically carved from the rock (Plate VIII, fig. 2.), similar in style and execution to those found on the lid of one of the sarcophagi discovered in 1862 by de Saulcy in the Tombs of the Kings. The rock-benches of both *arcosolia* have been deepened to 0.47 metres for the reception of the corpses and were formerly closed with a lid, the broken pieces of which were found scattered over the floor. Both had been arranged as sarcophagi, with the difference that they are parts of the rock and immovable. Grave-robbers had tried to cut away the decorated faces of the tombs and to carry them to some other place to sell them, probably to some collector of antiquities, but seem to have been disturbed, leaving the traces of their sinister work behind. Another peculiarity is shown by the difference in length of the receptacles; the one at the left measures 1.92 metres in length, while the second measures 2.83 metres and penetrates 0.83 metres into the side-wall. A third but simple *arcosolium* can be seen at the right of the entrance with a *kokh* beneath. No objects were found in Tomb VII except a number of sherds dating from different periods and many broken glass vessels. A badly preserved byzantine coin was found at the bottom of the forecourt with a number of sherds of the Mamluke period.

The vestibule of each of the Sanhedria tombs is wide open, so that the congregation standing—or sitting—in the forecourt could watch the last funeral rites. Some of the tombs appear in groups of three or four, some are found single. Here and there squared blocks of stone can be seen left when the quarries were abandoned in antiquity. After having completed the excavations at Tomb VII, I left Sanhedria to start work at Herod's Tomb, of which a report will follow at a later date.

At the beginning of my report I have tried to explain the origin of the Tombs of Sanhedria and the other ancient Jewish tombs found in the vicinity of Jerusalem and their elaborate system of chambers, burial shafts and rock-benches. A brief elucidation regarding the funeral rites customary at the time these tombs were made will probably be welcome to the student of archæology and to all those interested in the matter. As a matter of fact, without knowing something of the religious background and the last rites connected therewith, these arrangements for the reception of the departed can hardly be understood.

Jewish belief in a life hereafter has always been strong, although differences arose from time to time amongst Jewish sects about the survival of the soul, its destination or extinction, or whether it goes down to an underworld or rises to heaven to live eternally in the presence of God. We may safely assume that both conceptions were common amongst the Jewish people at the time the sepulchres of Sanhedria were arranged. During those centuries to which these subterranean chambers belong, the archaic idea of an underworld was abandoned and life hereafter believed to continue in heaven. "All are of dust, and all turn to dust again",[14] but the soul returns to its heavenly Father. But on the day of resurrection, when the trumpet sounds and the Messiah appears, the soul will return to the body and both will rise together in the valley of Jehoshaphat (i.e., "God will judge"). From all corners of the earth the bodies of the righteous Jews will travel to Jerusalem, for nowhere else can resurrection take place. But, until then, all those who died had to be housed somewhere; they had to be dressed and prepared for that day, for the event which was expected to happen at

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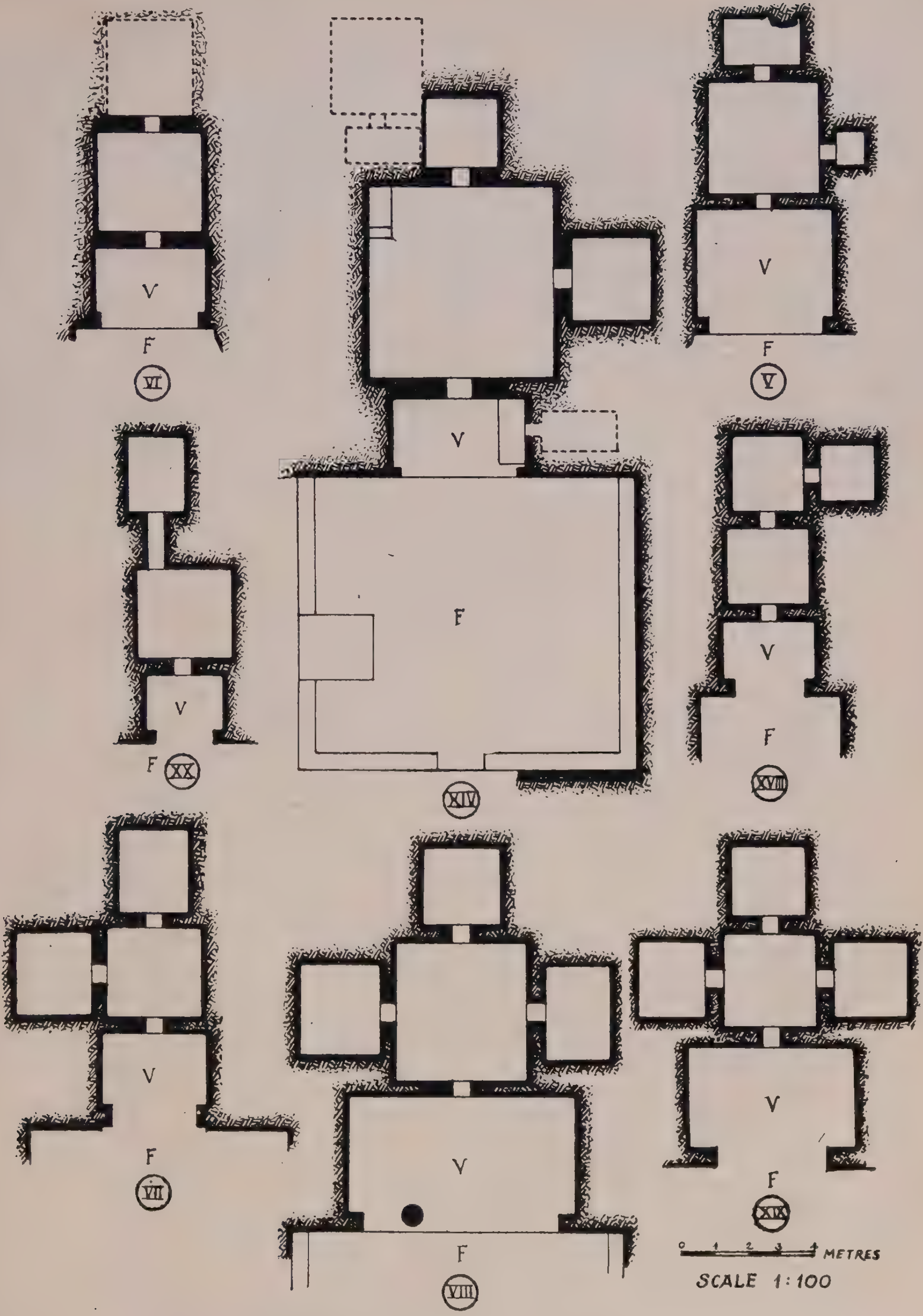
[14] Eccl. iii, 20. Ben Sira XIV, 17–21.
II Macc. vii, 9; xii, 43.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JERUSALEM. Plans of the excavated tombs of Sanhedria.
V. Vestibule. F. Forecourt.

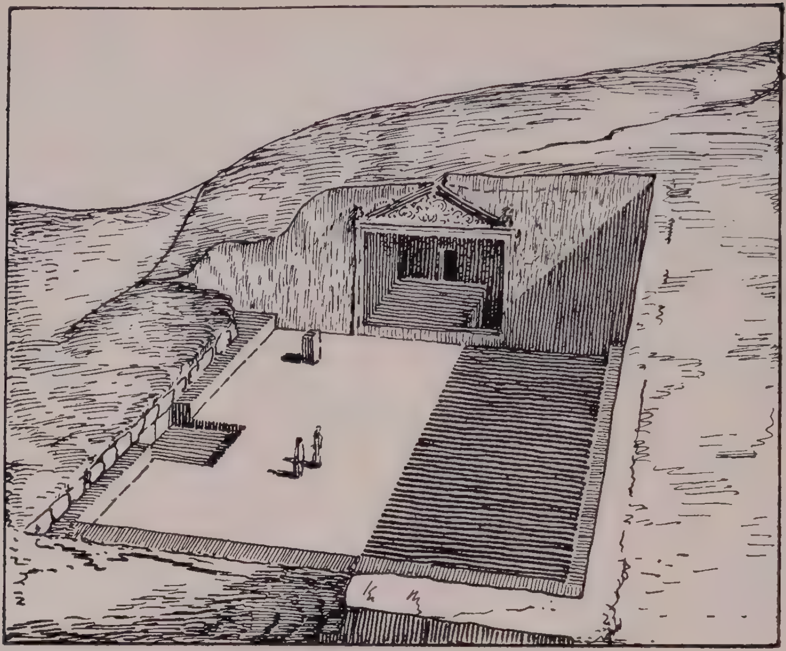


Fig. 1. Tomb xiv. Vestibule and recently excavated forecourt. Looking east.

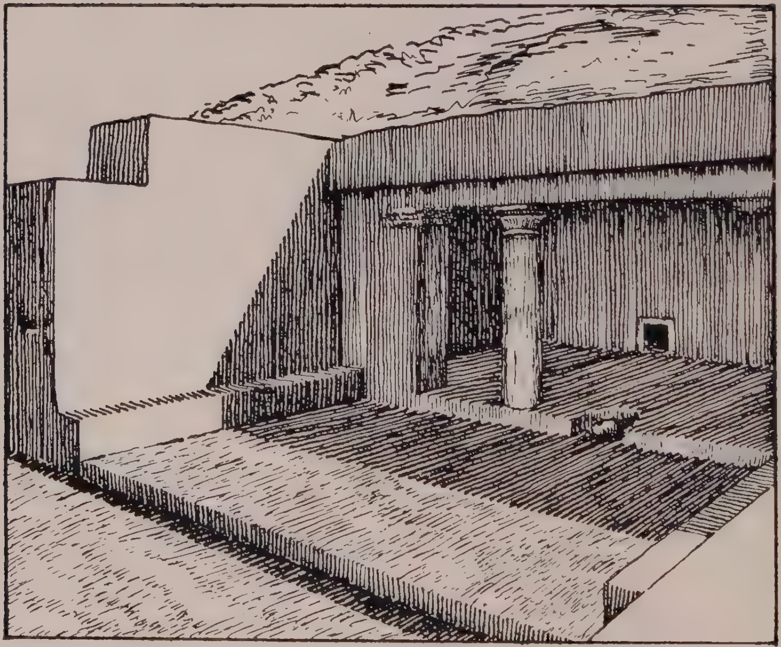


Fig. 2. Tomb viii. Vestibule and forecourt. Looking east.

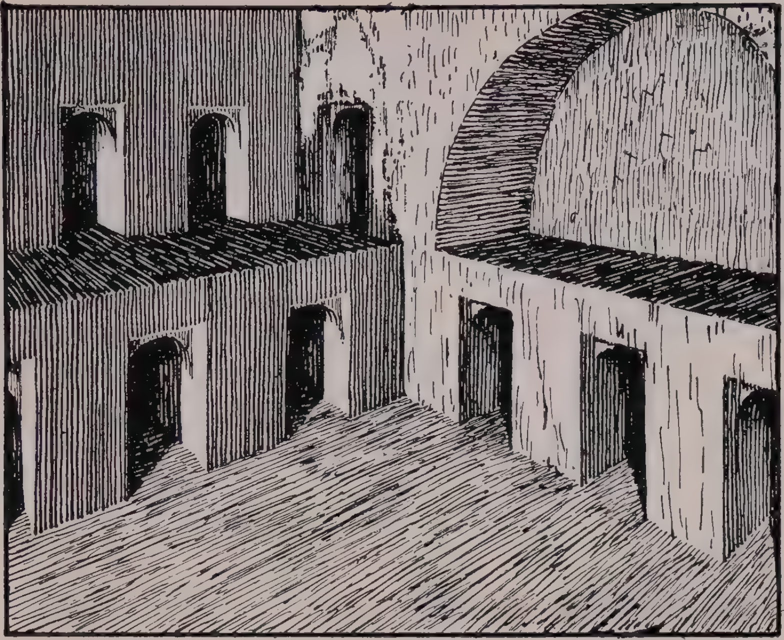


Fig. 1. Chamber with Kokhin and Arcosolia.

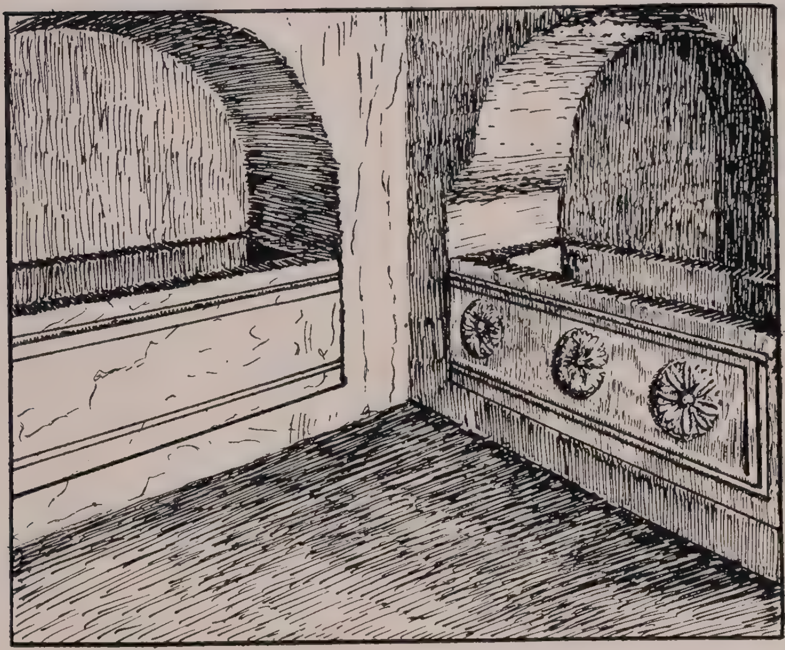


Fig. 2. Chamber of Tomb VII.

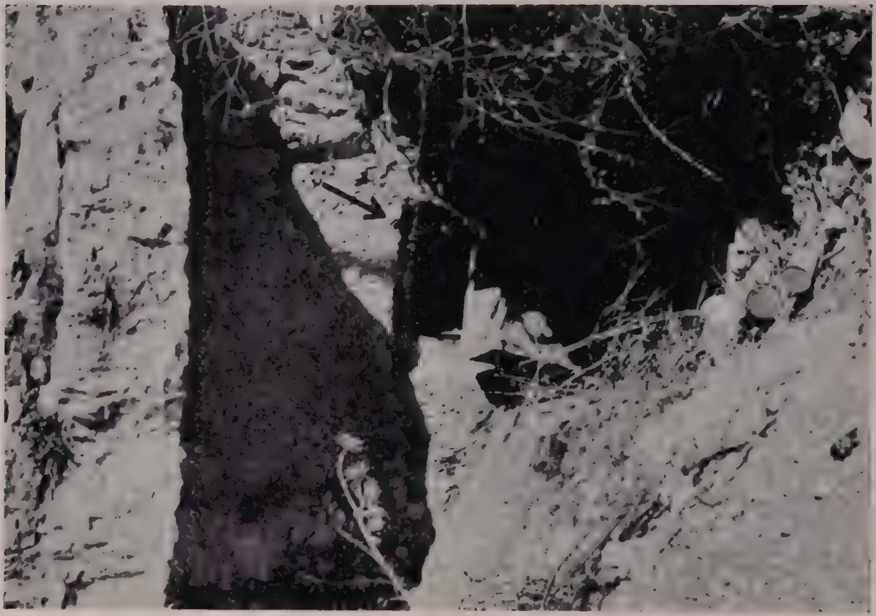


Fig. 1. Entrance to a tomb discovered in 1949.

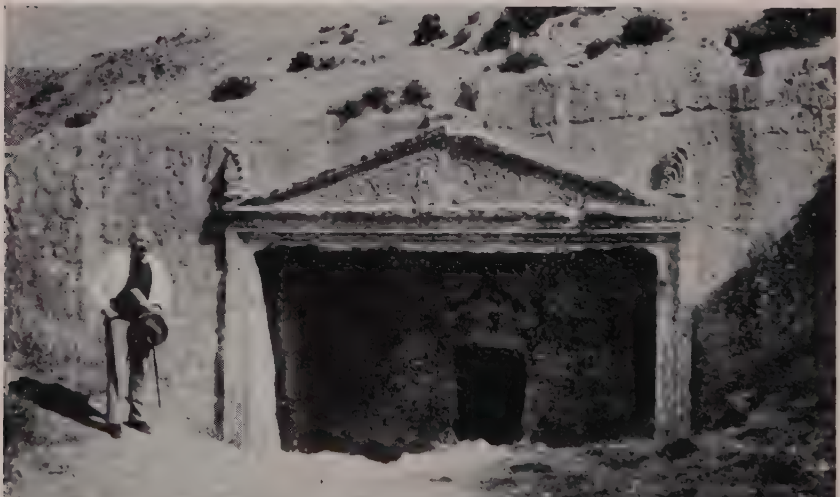


Fig. 2. Vestibule of Tomb XIV before excavation.

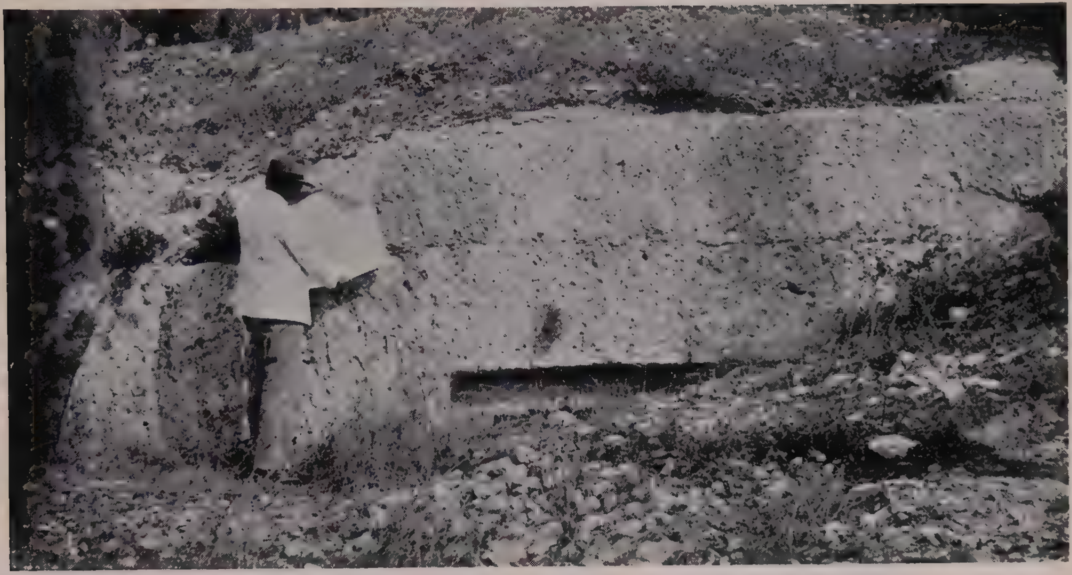


Fig. 1. Vestibule of Tomb VII seen in the face of the cliff.

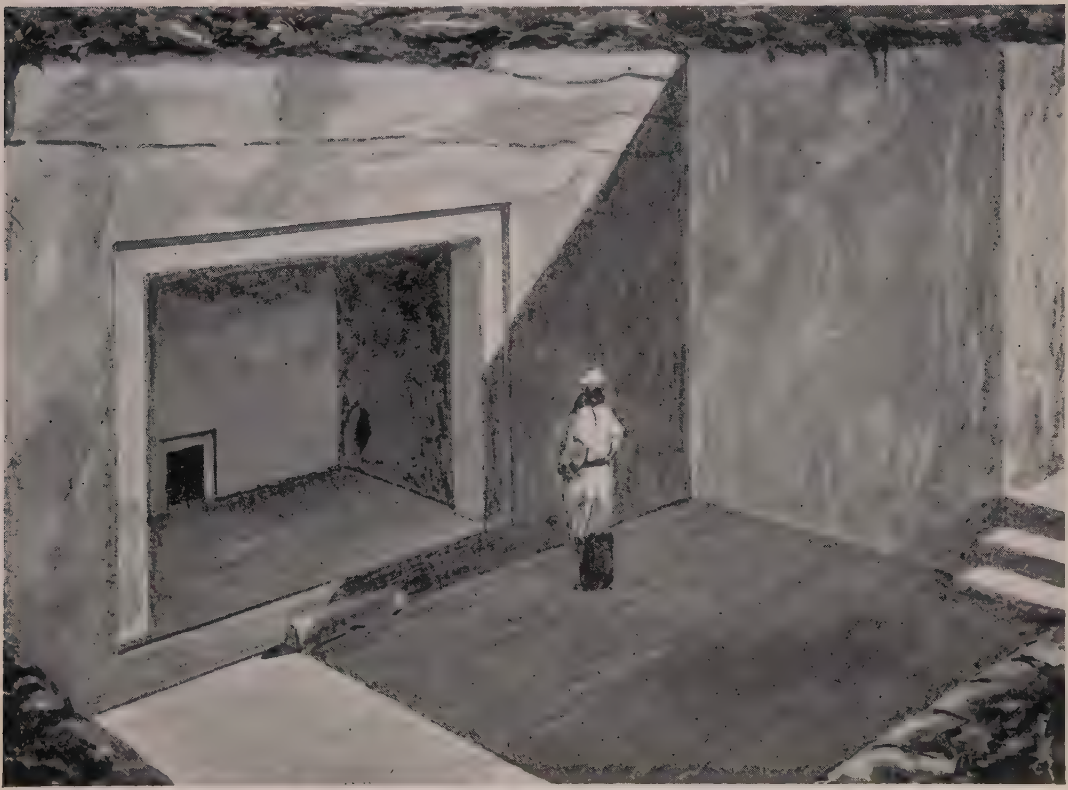
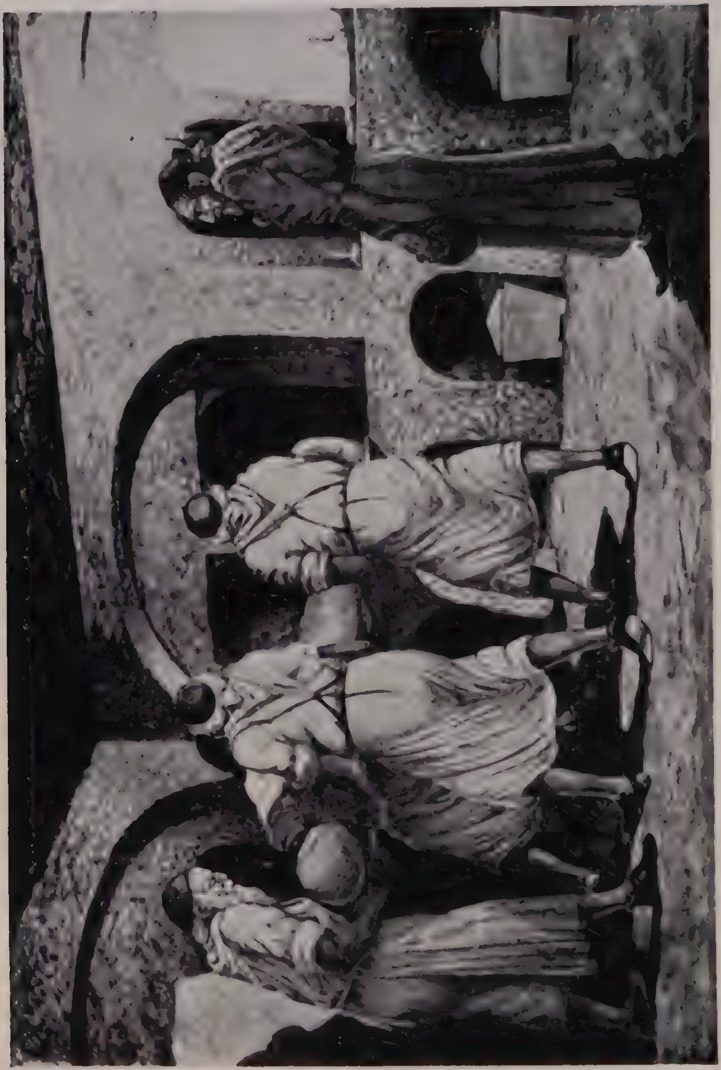
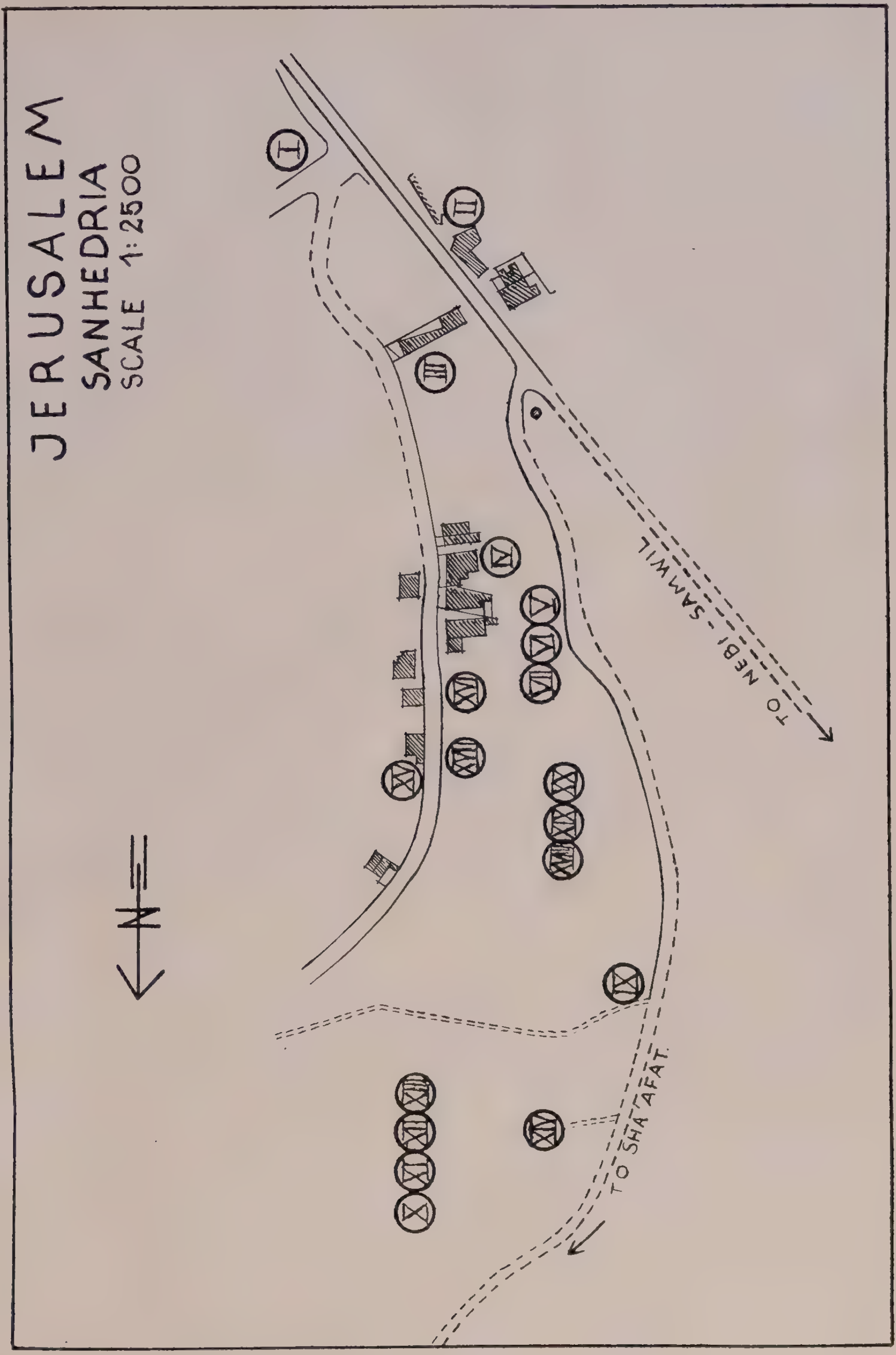


Fig. 2. Tomb VII excavated.



Jewish burial at the time of the Second Temple.

(After a painting by the author)


JERUSALEM
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any time. The families, long buried, would rise together, the priestly families, those of the nobility, the princes and kings and all the clans, their heads answering for all members as they were wont during lifetime. Political pressure and the appearance of fanatics, pretending to be the long-expected redeemer, misled many citizens of Jerusalem and heaped more misery on their heads. The reports of Flavius Josephus and those of the New Testament reflect the confusion of the Jewish people of Jerusalem at that period, which finally led to the collapse of the State and the destruction of the city.

Those who could afford ordered their family tomb to be cut in one of the numerous cliffs, and those who knew the place where, at their end, they would be laid to rest, took pride in having it neatly and perfectly prepared. It is, as far as I know, since then that the Jewish cemetery is called בית עולם, i.e., " the house of eternity ", or בית הקברות, " the house of the tombs ".

When a case of death occurred it was announced by the sound of a trumpet. All work ceased immediately in the quarter to which the home of the deceased belonged. Friends and those usually entrusted with the preparation for the funeral arrived to take up their duties. Their first act was to place the corpse on the floor and to put a light at its head. The next step was to wash, anoint, and dress the body and, in some cases to make a coffin in the courtyard of the house. Mirrors were covered with a cloth, and water in vessels poured out.[15] Meanwhile, the next of kin tore their garments, sat on the floor and put ashes on their head as a symbol of mourning.

The body was dressed with the garments which the dead person used to wear during life, often many-coloured and of finest material. Later, when too much luxury in dressing became the vogue, it was forbidden in order not to differentiate in death between the rich and the poor. Since then, all had to be shrouded in white or grey linen. In one instance, so it is reported in the Talmud, a man had directed in his will that he was to be dressed fully in fine clothes, his shoes on his feet and staff in hand to be ready for the resurrection. All preparations had to be made in haste, as, in Jerusalem and in the country generally, interment had to take place the same day. It was strictly forbidden to keep a corpse in the house over the Sabbath.[16] The earthen vessels used for washing were smashed to pieces and these were placed on mouth and eyes to symbolize the return to dust. It was strictly forbidden for men to prepare the corpse of a female; this had to be done by women. After completion of prayers, the corpse was taken and carried to the bier, feet first, thus symbolizing leaving the home for the last time. Kings were buried in their royal robes, with sword, crown and signet ring; merchants with their ledger, *kalamarion* and inkpot; the bridegroom with his marriage contract, the bride with open hair under a canopy ; women with comb, perfume bottle and the twin-bottle containing *Stibium*, used in life to paint eyelashes and brows.

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[15] Similar customs are still in use in some European non-Jewish communities.

[16] St. Mark xv, 42 etc.

Men had the Sudarium laid on the face and branches of myrtle placed on the body. Wailing women were hired for the lamentations and funeral music. Meanwhile, a large congregation had assembled in the courtyard and in the street to form the funeral procession. Ahead of the procession walked the torch-bearers followed by men carrying censers. Behind them marched the bearers carrying the bier, called the "shoulder men"[17]. Next came the mourners and the wailing women, followed by the congregation. Wailing women could be hired. The minimum requirement was one woman and two flutes. Usually there were more. As their profession indicates, they used to wail "Oi brother" or "Oi sister", pulling their hair and beating their breasts. Playing of tambourines is also reported. Their funeral music is reported to have been arranged in such a way that they chanted either in unison or solo, as the Arab women still do on such occasions, clapping the hands, playing heart-rending tunes on such flutes as are still played by the Arab shepherd, and playing the tambourine alternately with the other instruments. Men and women of the congregation followed suit by wailing, beating the body and pulling the hair. Seven times the funeral procession used to stop on the way to the tomb to listen to eulogies, which were followed by the men beating heart, shoulder and loin and performing a kind of ritual dance by stamping the ground.[18] Having arrived at the family tomb the congregation used to form two lines between which the mourning next of kin slowly walked to accept condolences. Finally, the congregation took its seat on the stone seats (as we found them at Tomb XIV and Tomb VIII at Sanhedria), or on the ground, where seats were non-existent, to listen to the last eulogy.

From the forecourt the bier with the corpse was lifted to the vestibule by the bearers and handed over to the members of the Holy Burial Society (חברה קדישא) consisting of members of the municipal council (חבר עיר). The censers were placed on a flat pillar or on the floor of the vestibule filling the air with heavy clouds of incense. The corpse was lifted from the bier and carried to the tomb chamber. By the light of a torch or oil lamp the corpse was now laid on a plank and pushed into the *kokh* (also known as *loculus*) (Plate XI). The different objects mentioned previously were now placed at the side of the corpse, together with bottles filled with perfume or scented herbs, and the *kokh* was closed by a slab fitting into the frame cut in the opening. Leaving the tomb chamber after having done their duty, the members of the Holy Burial Society now closed the main entrance by means of a slab, as they had done at the *kokh*, but provisionally, as the corpse had to be guarded for three days by a man left at the spot to aid in case of apparent death. On the expiration of the watch and when all were satisfied that nothing unforeseen had happened, the slab of the main entrance of the tomb was fixed, or the rolling stone pushed in position and sealed to the wall.[19]

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[17] Shoulder men were those who stripped their shoulders for such purpose. They walked barefooted and changed in groups on the way to the tomb. In case of a bride deceased the canopy-bearers walked on either side of the bier.—*Bab. Talmud*, tractate Qiddushin IV, 1–2. Baba Qama X, 5.

[18] I witnessed a similar performance in Haifa, during the first world war, in an Arab house when the news was received that the husband of our neighbour had been killed in battle. But here the women performed the ritual dance in the same manner around the garments of the soldier-husband placed on the floor.

Mourning lasted seven days. Visitors arrived with food, mainly dishes of lentils or eggs, the symbols of resurrection.

When all *kokhin* were occupied and a new case of death occurred in the same family, the oldest of the *kokhin* was opened, the bones gathered, anointed, and shrouded and laid to final rest in an ossuary, which was either placed in a short *kokh* or in the ossuary-chamber. (Plate XI.) Ossuaries have occasionally been found in numbers in caves, single ones in fields, with the name of the dead incised mostly in Greek, but also in Hebrew.

No exception was made in the case of the faithful slave of a Jewish family; he or she was buried in the family tomb with the same honours due to a family member. Burial in a Jewish cemetery was granted everybody, even the Gentile if found dead in some place.

Rock-cut family tombs were used by the Jews of the Holy Land until the end of the fourth century A.D.; since then all without distinction are buried in the simple grave.

From the Greeks and Romans the Jews adopted the custom of burying in sarcophagi, in which the corpse was laid undressed. It was believed that the dead was longing to get in touch with mother earth as quickly as possible. For the same reason, as we have already explained, sherds were placed on both eyes and the mouth, and when coffins were used their bottom was perforated to allow a quick union with the rock or earth according to the mode of burial. The lid of the sarcophagus which we found in the shaft of the vestibule of Tomb XIV (Fig. 4) seems to have belonged to one of the earliest types of Jewish sarcophagi, and was probably fixed with some sort of cement, as was found on the sarcophagi of the Tombs of the Kings. Inscriptions are missing in the Tombs of Sanhedria. A graffito was found on the left pilaster of the vestibule of Tomb XIV consisting of a number of Greek and Hebrew letters apparently incoherent. As the *kokh* was used and re-used for the reception of corpses, no inscriptions could be expected. To those interested in Anthropometry it may be of interest to know that most of the skeletons I found in Jewish tombs of that period, including that found in Tomb VI, belonged to persons not higher than 1.60 metres, which corresponds exactly with the measurements of a skeleton found in the Tomb of the Kings by de Saulcy in 1863. Accordingly, it may safely be assumed that the average Jew of Herod's time was, in stature, similar to the Yemenite Jew of to-day. In contrast to the rules laid down in the Talmud, according to which the corpse should be pushed into the *kokh* feet first, I found the skeletons in the tombs I examined all lying with their feet at the opening and skull at the inner end. According to E. Pierotti, a skeleton without skull was discovered in the middle of the last century in the cave beneath the central chamber of Tomb XIV, which, however, may be the remains of a person murdered at a much later period.[20]

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[19] *Bab. Talmud,* tractate Sota VIII, 2–4.

The great number of potsherds found inside the tombs indicates that some kind of food was buried with the body, a custom the Jews had in common with all oriental people in antiquity. It was believed that the soul remains with the corpse for at least three days, floating round the *kokh* and demanding the rights of a living person. Then it would come to rest but would return from time to time to its grave. It was probably fear which induced the people to do everything possible for the dead, a fear of the departed spirits which is common amongst primitive peoples in all countries.[21] Frequent visits to the tomb, flowers and prayers were, and still are, believed to assuage the anger of the departed spirit longing to return to its former life. Gradually it would come to rest in its eternal home until the day of resurrection dawns and the dead return to life again.

Before Jerusalem was destroyed by the Romans, the Tombs of Sanhedria were kept in good order, their owners paying much attention to the flower-beds and trees which they had planted in their property. After centuries of negligence the municipality of Jewish Jerusalem has again planted the whole area with trees and flowers for the benefit of the numerous visitors coming to see these venerable monuments of ancient Jerusalem.

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[20] E. Pierotti, *Jerusalem Explored*, p. 240.

[21] Deut. xxvi, 14; Tob. iv, 18; Ben Sira XXX, 18. Tractate Sabbath 152 b.

DTN AND *RP'UM* IN ANCIENT UGARIT

By JOHN GRAY

IN a passage in the *Krt* legend[1] the king is acclaimed

m'ed rm krt
btk rp'e 'arṣ
bpḫr qbṣ dtn.

For this passage we offer the translation :

" Highly exalted be[2] *Krt*
Among the dispensers of fertility of the earth,
In the assembly of the clan of *Dtn*."

Virolleaud presumed that there was an allusion here to the familiar tradition of the Old Testament regarding a race of departed giants, and he would regard *rp'e* as the Rephaim, the indigenous population of the land. He cites the Old Testament tradition regarding a departed race of giants and in this respect he would see a complimentary comparison in the case of *Krt*, or rather his progeny.[3] He would explain *dtn* in the same way as referring to a locality or chief with which the Rephaim were associated and suggests Biblical Dothan,[4] as he had already found a reference to Shechem in the case of the Rephaim in another text.[5]

This last text, however, and other fragments which he published at the same time,[6] seriously damage Virolleaud's case that in *rp'um* we have an ethnic term. There the *rp'um* appear in a limited number, seven probably, or eight including their leader.[7] This evidence suggests that *rp'um* were not a race but a guild, and the association with a shrine (*hkl*, *'aṯr*)[8] indicates that they are cultic functionaries.

Ginsberg, in his " Legend of King Keret,"[9] takes *rp'e* as a common noun meaning " community " from a root *rp'a*, of which he assumes that the primary meaning is " to join ".[10] He is apparently guided to this conclusion by the assumption that *rp'e* is the parallel to *qbṣ*, " gathering ". This is a consideration which cannot be ignored in those texts where the principle of parallelism is generally rigidly observed. Here, however, we must reckon with the possibility that the parallelism does not apply word for word but that the parallels *rp’e ’arṣ* and *qbṣ dtn* are both compound phrases.

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[1] Virolleaud; " Le Mariage du Roi Kéret ", *Syria* XXIII, 1942–43, pp. 137–172. Gordon; *Ugaritic Handbook*, 1947, 128, col. iii, 2–4, 13–15.

[2] Reading *rm* as a precative perfect.

[3] Virolleaud; *op. cit.*, p. 150.

[4] *ibidem;* p. 151.

[5] Virolleaud: " Les Rephaim ", *Syria* XXII, 1941, p. 19.

[6] *ibidem*, pp. 1–30, Gordon; *op. cit.*, 121, 122, 123, 124.

[7] Gordon; *op. cit.*, 121, col. ii, 1. *ṯmn bqrb hkly.* These are in all probability *rp'um* since there is no obvious change of subject.

[8] Gordon; *op. cit.*, 122, 3–4.

[9] Ginsberg; *B.A.S.O.R.*, supplement 2–3, 1941, pp. 23, 34.

[10] Ginsberg cites the Arabic رَفَا or رَفَأَ, " to darn."

We trust to have shown in a previous study[11] that *rp’um*, of which *rp’e* of the Keret text is a collective form, were a guild connected with the provision or restoration of fertility to the crops in emergency. There is evidence for this sense of the root *rp’a* in Hebrew. It is used of Jahweh restoring fertility to the harem of Abimelech of Gerar,[12] and again of Elisha restoring the fertility of the water of the spring of Jericho.[13] It has long been a commonplace to anthropologists that the dispensation of fertility was an important element in the power of the king. This finds expression in the cult and liturgy of Mesopotamia and Egypt, in the Old Testament, especially in Messianic passages, and in Greek literature, where Hesiod says of the departed men of the Golden Age that they are

> “ Givers of wealth for that royal prerogative they also have.”[14]

We prefer to take *rp’e ’arṣ* of the *Krt* text here cited as a synonym of royalty and suggest the rendering “ dispensers of fertility of the earth ”.

It remains to be seen if this may illuminate the meaning of the parallel *qbṣ dtn*. *Dtn* is found in the administrative texts[15] recording state payments to certain classes and guilds at Ugarit in the Amarna Age (*c.* 1400 B.C.). There we find reference to *bn dtn*. “ Sons of *dtn* ” as *mrynm*,[16] equestrian feudatories, and as *khnm*, priests.[17] In both classes *bn dtn* were rated higher than any other class or family except the “ Sons of *ṯʿ* ”, *bn ṯʿ*. Now *ṯʿ* was certainly a powerful family at Ugarit since to it belonged the high priest *Atnprln* in the time of *Nqmd*,[18] the contemporary and vassal of Šubbiluliuma,[19] and in the earlier period Keret is so designated. Gordon seems right in seeing here evidence that the authority of the king at Ugarit was maintained by what we might call “ strategic posting ” of his family or clan in the priesthood.[20] We now make the suggestion that in *dtn* we have a collateral line to the royal clan of *ṯʿ*, which was similarly posted in the priesthood. Perhaps, indeed, this was the family which the royal line of *Nqmd* of the clan *ṯʿ* had superseded. In the old royal line, however, the religious powers and prerogatives could not be so easily abolished as their political power. In this case their priestly duties of dispensing fertility to the land, which was originally associated with the king, remained to them as the ritual duties and obsolete title remained with the *archon basileus* in republican Athens and the *rex sacrificulus*, or *rex sacrorum*, in Rome. The passage in the Keret Text, which refers to a much earlier period than the administrative texts, probably refers to conditions when the house of *ṯ*ʿ displaced that of *dtn* on the throne of Ugarit. At that juncture it is but natural that *ṯ*ʿ would claim the royal " virtue " of *dtn*, which it might make more concrete by intermarriage.[11]

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[11] “ The Rephaim,” *PEQ*, 1949, pp. 127–139.

[12] Genesis xx, 17.

[13] 2 Kings ii, 21.

[14] Hesiod; *Works and Days*, 11, 109–126.

[15] Virolleaud; “ Un État de Solde provenant d’Ugarit (Ras Shamra),” *Mémorial Lagrange*, 1940, pp. 39–49. Gordon; *op. cit.*, 400.

[16] Gordon; *op. cit.*, col. ii, 9.

[17] *ibidem*, col. vi, 28.

[18] *ibidem*, 62, 54–56. There is, so far as we know, no text to support Gordon’s statement that the king *Nqmd* was of this clan, though we do think that he may have been of the clan *ṯʿ* through his affiliation with the house of *Krt*. See Gordon; *Ugaritic Literature*, 1949, p. 122.

[19] Gordon; *Ugaritic Handbook*, 118.

[20] Gordon; *Ugaritic Literature*, p. 122. Parallel instances of such strategic posting in the Old Testament are the military commands of Abner, the cousin of Saul, and Joab, the cousin of David.

If we may be permitted a conjecture, we may suggest that the family of *Dtn* was the relics of the house of *Dn'el*, whose stock epithets are *mt rp'e*, " the dispenser of fertility ", and *mt hrnmy*, which seems a gentilic or, perhaps, local title whose significance eludes us. That *Dn'el* was once a king there is no doubt. In the text associated with him, however, it is just as certain that legend or saga has passed over into myth. This indicates that *Dn'el* flourished long before *Krt*, who is still a figure of history. It seems not unreasonable to suppose that *Dn'el's* house was superseded by *Krt's* house, that of *ṯ*ʿ, but retained as a clan the old royal property of dispensing fertility. The association of fertilizing " virtue " with representatives of a defunct royal line may have suggested the connection between fertility and the cult of the dead.[12] This may help to explain the double meaning of *rp'um*, which is applied to living functionaries at Ras Shamra, all of them either royal or aristocratic,[13] and in later Phœnician inscriptions of the first millennium, where the word signifies the shades of the dead.

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[11] All dynasties in certain circumstances find it convenient to identify themselves with those they have superseded. One has heard emphasis laid on the Scottish antecedents of the House of Windsor, which still uses the coronation stone on which the ancient kings of Scotland were crowned, though there is an extremely tenuous connection between the present royal house and the line of Clan Alpine.

[12] Schaeffer ; *The Cuneiform Texts of Ras Shamra*, 1939, pp. 46 ff.

[13] The word in question is applied to *Krt* and *Dn'el* in the texts cited and to the guild of seven functionaries in the texts. Gordon; *Ugaritic Handbook*, 121, 122, 123, 124. We have inferred that these are aristocrats from the fact that they use horses and chariots, which, in the time when the *Krt* legend took form, were sufficiently rare for a chariot and its team and groom to be a desirable gift from king *Pbl* to *Krt*. I Keret, 55–56 ; 127–128; 251 -252.

SOME RECENT ARCHÆOLOGICAL NEWS FROM ISRAEL

By B. S. J. Isserlin

The main source for the information set out below is again the Bulletin of the Department of Antiquities of the State of Israel. The third issue of this Hebrew periodical, dated June 1951, attains a size of 64 pages. It includes besides archæological news items from Israel a digest of archæological information about the neighbouring countries, a review of recent archæological publications concerning the Middle East, and also such items as a translation of an article on " What Matters in Archæology " by R. E. M. Wheeler from *Antiquity*. I have again to thank the Department of Antiquities of Israel for their kind permission to select and translate information from their Bulletin. Some of the matter dealt with below can also be found discussed at greater length in a new Israeli periodical published in English, viz., the *Israel Exploration Journal*, of which four numbers have appeared so far.

There has again been a considerable number of minor archæological discoveries: these are listed in the Bulletin according to period with the addition of map grid references. Lack of space forbids reproduction of the list here, and the more important items should in due course find their way into the pages of the *American Journal of Archæology*.

Where systematic scientific excavations are concerned it should be mentioned that the year 1950 witnessed the first beginnings of archæological work on Israelite soil undertaken by non-Israeli archæologists. In August-September of that year M. René Neuville, the French consul at Jerusalem, assisted by M. Jean Perrot, member of the " *centre national de la recherche scientifique*," carried out work near Abu Ghosh; the report in the Bulletin comes from the pen of the latter. Already in 1928 the Benedictine fathers had noted the occurrence of Stone Age tools in the district: now a Neolithic station was discovered at the foot of T. el Azhar (ancient Qiriath-Ye'arim) and flanking the Jerusalem-Tel Aviv road opposite the village. At a depth of 30 cm. to 1 m. a stratum of grey soil, rich in flint implements, was found: it also contained remains of buildings, apparently from the same period. Typical among the flints are arrow heads with raised back and bevelled edges, and finely toothed sickle blades with edges polished by use. Small axes with polished edge and big polished axe heads also occur, and so do tools made of pumice, slate, and obsidian, besides bone points. No pottery was found, but there were two unbaked clay figurines representing cattle. The industry of Abu Ghosh is stated to be most closely related to Jericho XVII–X and the uppermost stratum at El-Khiam in southern Judea, but differs in the presence of features shared with the Yarmukian of Sha'ar

Haggolan and the civilisation of Neolithic Syria (arrow heads, polished axes).

At Sha'ar Haggolan itself excavations were also carried out in 1949 and 1950 to the east of the settlement's fishponds, under the direction of Dr. M. Stekelis. He mentions that two test trenches were dug down to virgin soil in order to establish the stratigraphical sequence, and besides this a larger area was excavated to a lesser depth. Besides Early Bronze Age remains, a valuable flint workshop debris area belonging to the Neolithic period was discovered.

Within the urban area of Tel Aviv itself interesting discoveries were made by Mr. J. Kaplan, who was working on behalf of the Department, and with the assistance of Tel Aviv municipality. Small-scale excavations, in addition to observations on sites opened up by building activity, allowed him to find a number of points on the higher sandstone ridges above the low ground liable to swamping which had been selected by early settlers. We reproduce from Mr. Kaplan's essay an adaptation of his map (showing the localities in question—Fig. 1); and also a table of the periods represented :—

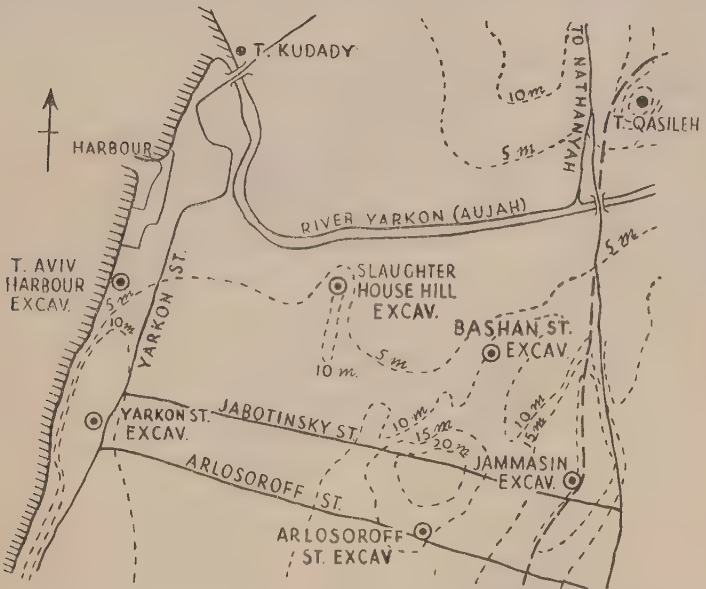
T. KUDADY
HARBOUR
TO NATHANYAH
10 m.
5 m.
T. QASILEH
RIVER YARKON (AUJAH)
5 m.
T. AVIV HARBOUR EXCAV.
5 m.
10 m.
YARKON ST.
SLAUGHTER HOUSE HILL EXCAV.
BASHAN ST.
EXCAV.
5 m.
10 m.
YARKON ST. EXCAV.
JABOTINSKY ST.
10 m.
15 m.
20 m.
10 m.
15 m.
JAMMASIN EXCAV.
ARLOSOROFF ST.
ARLOSOROFF ST. EXCAV.

Fig. 1. Map of Tel-Aviv area, showing archæological sites (after J. Kaplan).

(By permission of the Dept. of Antiquities of the State of Israel)

ca. 5000–4000	Neolithic	Bashan Street.
4000–3500	Ghassulian	Jammasin quarter (continuation of Jabotinsky Street; Slaughter House Hill.

3000–2200	Early Bronze	Bashan Street, Slaughter House Hill.
1750–1550	Middle Bronze II B ..	Tel Aviv Harbour, Slaughter House Hill.
700–586	Iron II	Slaughter House Hill.
550–332	Persian Period . ..	Slaughter House Hill.
175–37	Hellenistic and Roman	Yarkon Street, Arlosoroff Street.

The Neolithic finds included fragments of a unique pottery figurine (fertility goddess); chalcolithic "dwelling pits" in a quarry face at Jammasin furnished a big basalt bowl with incised ornament (Fig. 2). On Slaughter House Hill fragments of chalcolithic clay ossuaries of the usual kind were found. Among later discoveries we note the occurrence of Middle Bronze Age tombs near Tel Aviv Harbour and the remnants of a small Hellenistic fort and of a watch tower of the same period (situated in Yarkon Street and Arlosoroff Street respectively). They appear to have formed part of a defensive screen protecting the northern approaches to Jaffa.

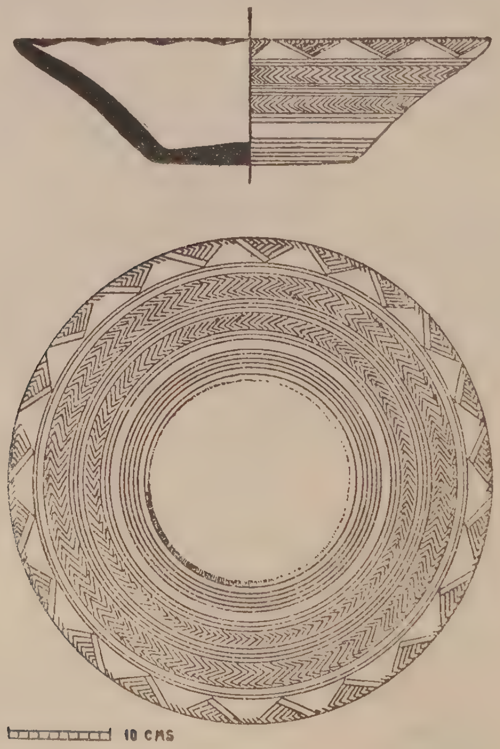

Fig. 2. Basalt bowl from Jammasin
(after Mrs. H. Kaplan)

(By permission of the Dept. of Antiquities of the State of Israel)

At Affuleh work was carried on at the tell under the direction of Dr. I. Ben Dor. According to his report discoveries here included a pit containing fragments of unbaked Middle Bronze Age pottery, and among them red and black slipped and burnished T. el Yehudieh wares with typical pricked and white inlaid triangle decoration. These wares must therefore have been produced locally. In a neighbouring sector a kiln datable to the transition from the Bronze to the Iron Age was unearthed. Further out, near the Affule-Jenin road, a cemetery of simple earthgraves dated by the tomb furniture to the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C. was discovered, and to the north of Affuleh water tower a cemetery of Middle-Late Bronze date below a roughly built Roman structure was encountered: below the graves there were sherds of the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze periods.

At Tell Qasileh, Dr. B. Maisler and his staff put in a third season's work. Additional details clarifying the history of this important stratified site were found: for full information the reader is referred to Dr. Maisler's accounts in the *Biblical Archæologist* and the *Israel Exploration Journal*.

A fair number of excavations were concerned with the classical and Byzantine periods. Thus, at Dor-Tanturah, excavations to the north of el Burj, directed by Mr. Y. Leibovitch and described by him in the Bulletin brought to light parts of a Roman theatre looking out towards the sea. The diameter of the building had been *ca.* 60 m.; parts of a diazoma, a vomitorium, and also part of the orchestra and scene were traced, and many architectural fragments were encountered. At Acre foundation work for a new suburb north of the Acre-Safed roads, near T. el Fukhkhar, led to the discovery of a so-far unknown cemetery of Hellenistic, Roman, and perhaps later date. This was investigated and reported on by Mrs. R. Amiran. There were simple earth graves, burials in clay sarcophagi, and clay sarcophagi placed in plastered chambers, besides built and roofed over stone chambers, one of which had contained wooden coffins. According to the pottery and glass wares found in the tombs, the simple earth graves, built tombs and built tomb chamber containing coffins dated from the Hellenistic and early Roman periods. The date of the burials containing clay sarcophagi requires further investigation.

At Arsuf-Apollonia investigations outside the area of the crusading town were carried out by Drs. Ben Dor and Kahane. According to their reports in the Bulletin they discovered, *inter alia*, Byzantine wine presses and glass-making plants. These latter consisted of rectangular ovens built of stone and tiles in front of which there were working floors, surrounded by walling on three sides. It would appear that the floor was used for fusing the raw materials, the necessary heat being generated in the oven and adducted by means of bellows, perhaps through apertures in the walling.

The well-known tombs in the Sanhedria quarter of Jerusalem were cleaned up and protected by the Department. Excavations during this process led to the discovery of several hitherto unknown features. One newly investigated tomb contained a rock-cut sarcophagus with rosette decoration which reminds the reviewer of a sarcophagus from the "Tombs of the Kings", now in the Louvre.

At Ras el Alawy, between Motza and Jerusalem, investigations by Mrs. R. Amiran prior to the establishment of a new cemetery for Jerusalem led to the discovery of what apparently was an ashlar-built block house of the third or fourth century A.D., protecting the Jerusalem-Emmaus-Lydda-Jaffa road. Nearby was a rougher structure, built, it would seem, of materials taken from this building after its destruction. This second construction originally comprised eight vaulted rooms, one of which was distinguished by the provision of columbarium-like shelves in two of its walls. The date and function of this building are both uncertain, but it may have been an agricultural installation of the late Byzantine or early Arab period.

Of not inconsiderable interest are this year's investigations on ancient synagogal buildings. We may begin with the well-known synagogue at Beth Alpha. Here, restoration work on the famous mosaic floor (carried out by Mr. P. Pelzig on behalf of the Department of Antiquities) led to the discovery, 15 cm. below the present pavement, of a piece of an earlier mosaic flooring. Part of a snake and of a guilloche can be made out. This discovery raises the question of an older building stage in the synagogue.

At Yafi'a, 3 km. south-west of Nazareth, Père Vincent had already noticed and described architectural fragments from a synagogue in 1921 (cp. RB 30, 1921, p. 433 ff.). In 1950 Prof. Sukenik, on a tour of inspection, enquired about traces of ancient buildings in the village, and was informed by an Arab landowner that ancient remains had been found on his land. The area concerned was situated in the upper part of the village near the Greek Orthodox church. Excavations were carried out here by Dr. Sukenik with the help of the Louis Rabinowitz Fund. According to his report the building was found in a badly mutilated condition and the mosaic floor had suffered especially badly. The structure was originally of basilical type, orientated East to West*); it possessed a nave, 7 m. wide, flanked by aisles. On the south side of the nave four rectangular column bases and the foundations for a fifth were encountered ; on the north side what may have been part of a stylobate. A piece of the southern wall still existed and consisted of fine ashlar, 65 cm. thick. The total width of the building would seem to have been *ca.* 15.70 m. Its length is uncertain as both the western and eastern ends have been destroyed, but the mosaic floor still extends over an area of 15.5 m. This mosaic floor is the most important feature of the building. The part best preserved is in the southern aisle and between the southern row of columns. It is made up there of geometrical motives set in a simple border. In the nave, so far as present remainders allow a judgment, the decoration consisted of a central space surrounded by a composite border on all four sides. Along the inner side of this border there ran a strip divided into panels (90 cm. wide where parallel with the direction of the nave, 1.10 m. in the transversal direction). These panels figured motifs from the plant and animal kingdoms. Of the central space, once probably also divided into panels, only the western extremity has survived. Here there is a panel composed of a big circle (made up of a simple guilloche) comprising within its area twelve smaller circles arranged around a thirteenth in the middle. This arrangement resembles the zodiac circles at Beth Alpah and Na'aran. However, in place of the zodiacal symbols this pavement figured the emblems of the tribes of Israel. Only two are now left: an ox and an antelope(?). These are the symbols of the Joseph tribes, Ephraim and Manasseh. Above the antelope(?) the three letters רים (of the original (אפ)רים) still survive.

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*Prof. Sukenik is inclined to connect this orientation with the fact that the building is situated in the territory of Zebulon, a "maritime" tribe.

Excavations at Kh. Kerak (ancient Beth Yerakh), to the north of the area dug in 1945–46, also deserve notice: they were under the direction of P. L. O. Guy, who reports on them in the Bulletin. The foundations and lowermost courses of a large rectangular temenos enclosure covering an area of 3,600 square metres were found. It possessed square towers at each corner. There was an entry to the north but the original entrance was apparently to the south, flanked by two towers like those at the corners. This building was erected above, and penetrated into, the Hellenistic layers, which in their turn overlay those of the Early Bronze. It apparently dates from the Roman period but continued in use into the Byzantine era. Within the enclosure there was a public building, 37 × 22 m. which when found was destroyed down to floor level. It showed an earlier Roman and a later Byzantine construction stage, during the latter of which it was rebuilt on the original foundations. The N.N.W. and S.S.E. sides of this building were flanked by porticos: during the first stage these consisted of monolithic columns, but during the second stage they were replaced by pillars. In this second phase the building proper was made up of a central nave ending in a semi-circular apse to the south-east, flanked by lateral aisles. While little is left of the walling, numerous fragments of the coloured mosaic pavement survive. The ornamental motives figured include birds, a pair of lions facing each other, the feet of a man and, next to him, the hooves of a horse, a tree bearing two ethrog fruit. The character of these motives makes it likely that the building served Jewish communal purposes and was most probably a synagogue. This hypothesis is strengthened by the discovery of a column base with engraved representations of the menorah, lulab, ethrog and incense pan, and also by the fact that the apse points in the direction of Jerusalem, as customary with synagogues of the later type. The not inconsiderable size of the building deserves to be noticed in this connection.

Note on the illustrations.—Fig. 1 is a simplified reproduction of a map drawn by Mr. J. Kaplan, in which English is substituted for the Hebrew lettering. Fig. 2 is a reproduction of a drawing by Mrs. H. Kaplan. I have to thank the Department of Antiquities of the State of Israel for their kind permission to reproduce these drawings from their Bulletin.

YURZA

The Identification of Tell Jemmeh

By B. Maisler

The Egyptian documents from the reign of Thutmosis III (middle of the fifteenth century B.C.) mention two cities on the south-west border of Palestine: Sharuhen and Yurza. The preface to this Pharaoh's annals states that there was an Egyptian garrison in Sharuhen " while from Yurza (Yrḏ) to the outer ends of the earth (northern Syria) had become rebellious against his majesty ".[1] It was this general rebellion which provoked Thutmosis's great military campaign, culminating in his decisive victory at the Battle of Megiddo. Sharuhen was captured several generations earlier by Pharaoh Ahmosis who, after the downfall of the Hyksos rulers in Lower Egypt, made a fierce onslaught on southern Palestine. The city was under siege for three years[2], and after its capture became a strongpoint of the Egyptian régime.

Albright[3] identified Sharuhen with Tell el-Fâr'ah, which identification was accepted by most scholars after Sir Flinders Petrie's discovery at this tell of the remains of a Hyksos fortress and an Egyptian citadel[4]. Whereas Yurza, which is described in the above-mentioned annals as being at the end of Canaan's southern frontier, on the way to Egypt, has not yet been identified topographically, nor has it ever been identified with any of the place-names mentioned in later literary sources.

In order to establish the location of this city we must look to two other sources in which its name is mentioned, viz., Thutmosis III's list of cities of Palestine and southern Syria[5], and the El-Amarna letters.[6] In Thutmosis's geographical list, Yurza (No. 60, Yrḏ) is mentioned before a list of cities most of which are well known to us: M'ḫś (No. 61, apparently Tell Abû

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[1] See Gunn-Gardiner, *J.E.A.* V, 1918, p. 54; Wilson and Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, 1950, p. 235.

[2] Or it was attacked in three campaigns which took place in three consecutive years; see Wilson, *ibid.*, p. 233, note 12.

[3] See *B.A.S.O.R.* 33, 1929, p. 7.

[4] Petrie, *Beth Pelet* I–II, 1930, 1932; Barrois, *Manuel* I, 1939, p. 132 ff.

[5] See Simons, *Handbook for the Study of Egyptian Topographical Lists*, etc., 1937, p. 111 ff.

[6] See Knudtzon, *Die Tell El-Amarna-Tafeln*, 1915, Nos. 314 and 315.

Sulṭân)[7], Joppa (Ypw, No. 62), Gath (Knt, No. 63, apparently Gath-rimmon, which, I suggested, should be identified with Tell el-Jerîšeh)[8], Lydda (Rwtn, No. 64), Ono (’nw, No. 65), Aphek (’pkn, No. 66, now Tell Râs el-‘Ein), Sochoh (Swk, No. 67, now Râs Šuweikeh), Yḥm (No. 68, now H̱irbet Yammā). All these cities are situated on the main highway which stretched along the coast from the south through the land of the Philistines to the Sharon and the Plain of Esdraelon, and which is known as the *Via Maris.* Three names precede Yurza on the list (Nos. 57–59): Ngb (presumably the Negeb), ’ššḫn and Rnm[9]. The names in the preceding section, which includes Nos. 51–56, appear to refer to that political-administrative entity of southern Lower Galilee and the northern part of the Plain of Esdraelon which was under the leadership of the cities Šmš-’tm (Shemesh-’Edom, which was destroyed in the days of Amenhotep II), and Anaharath (*cf.* Jos. xix, 19, probably Tell el-’Ajjûl, near Indûr)[9a]. In this list, as in the annals of Thutmosis III, Yurza is the southernmost city in the coastal area of Palestine and its location is on one of the main branches of the highway from Egypt to Canaan. At this time Sharuhen was an Egyptian fortress-city with a garrison, Gaza had been turned into an Egyptian base, as we learn from Thutmosis III’s annals, and Beth ‘Eglaim (Tell ‘Ajjûl) was, perhaps, in ruins.[10] Ashkelon, since it is not mentioned at all in Thutmosis III’s inscriptions, was presumably in ruins till before the El-Amarna period, while Ashdod and Raphia were apparently not founded till a later stage of the Late Bronze Age. Hence we deduce that in the days of Thutmosis III there were no Canaanite city-states along the southern coast between M’ḫś in the north and Yurza in the south.

In the El-Amarna letters we find the name Yurza in two letters from the governor of the town, *awêlu*[11] *ša* (*alu*) *Yu-ur-za*, “the man-ruler of Yurza”. His name is Pû-Ba’lu (or Pû-Haddu). It appears that the Egyptian official

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[7] This city, which is mentioned as Mu-uḫ(?)-ḫa-zi in one of the letters of Yapiḫi, king of Gezer (No. 298, 25), is certainly in the area of Wâdi Rûbîn. Alt suggested that it be identified with Tell Abû-Sulṭân (*P.J.B.* xxi, p. 15 ff.; 29, p. 12f.; *Z.D.P.V.* 67, p. 13), which was occupied in the Middle and Late Bronze Ages, as well as in the Early Iron Age (J. Ory, *Q.D.A.P.* XII [1945], p. 42). To this ancient settlement belongs the harbour—Mînet Rûbîn (*cf.* M. Dothan, *B.I.E.S.* XVI, 3–4, 1951). In the late Aramaic name of this harbour (Iamnitarum Portus) — *Mâḥôzā* (Hebrew *ham-Mâḥôz,* “the Harbour”)—we have probably nothing but a change of the old name according to popular etymology.

It is noteworthy that in the geographical list of Ramses II from ’Amarah West (Fairman, *JEA* XXV, 1939, p. 139 ff.; Van Voss, *Ex Oriente Lux* XI, 1949/50, p. 22 ff.) M’wḫ;*d̲*; (No. 69) appears after Raphia (No. 66), Sharuhen (No. 67), a lost name (No 68, Yurza??), and before Sochoh.

This list supports the assumption that Muḫḫazi lay on the main coastal road of Palestine. The spelling of the name in this document differs from the spelling in the list of Thutmosis III.

[8] *Israel Exploration Journal* I, 2, 1951, p. 63.

[9] See M. Noth, *Z.D.P.V.*, 1938, p. 48 ff.

[9a] Wilson apud Pritchard, *ibid.*, Yp. 245 C, 247a.

[10] *Cf.* Albright, *A.J.S.L.*, 55, 1939, p. 353.

[11] Concerning this title, which corresponds to the Egyptian *wr* and the Akkadian *ḫâziânu*, see rec. Yeivin, *J.E.A.* xxxvi, 1950, p. 53, n. 1.

(Akkadian *râbiṣu*, Canaanite *sûkinu*) appointed over him is Riapana, who fulfils a similar function in Ashkelon (No. 326) and in the southern Shephelah.

From these sources we learn that (1) Yurza was a Canaanite city-state in the fifteenth-fourteenth centuries B.C.; (2) it was situated at the southern end of the settled area, near the highway to Egypt; (3) it was definitely an important point, as were its neighbours Sharuhen and Gaza; (4) the expression " from Yurza to the outer ends of the earth " was one of many expressions conveying the idea of from boundary to boundary as " from Dan to Beersheba " (or " from Beersheba to Dan "), " from Sidon . . . unto Gaza ", " even from the mount Halak, that goeth up to Seir, even unto Baalgad in the valley of Lebanon ", and others in the Bible.

If we are right in our conclusion that Yurza must be represented by one of the important tells south of Gaza, a tell which is a strategic point on the road to Egypt and which contains the remains of a town of the Late Bronze Age, then the chief and, perhaps, only candidate for this identification is Tell Jemmeh. This large and prominent tell on the bank of Wâdi Ghazzeh, south of the mouth of Wâdi eš-Šeri'eh and 13 km. south of Gaza, was without doubt at the point where the road from Gaza and the Shephelah branched off to Raphia and to the Negeb (*via* Sharuhen, Tell el-Fâr'ah). Sir Flinders Petrie's[12] limited excavation revealed the existence of a sizeable settlement in the Bronze and Iron Ages, particularly from the Late Bronze Age to the end of the Persian period.

The city is not mentioned in the Bible since it was outside the bounds of Judæa; in the Israelite period it must surely have been considered one of the "towns" of Gaza[13], and in the Persian period it was an important station on the routes to Egypt and Arabia.

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[12] Petrie, *Gerar*, 1928. Petrie's and Albright's (*B.A.S.O.R.* 15, p. 6. f.; *J.B.L.* 58, p. 182 f.) suggestion that Gerar be identified with Tell Jemmeh is unacceptable, as Alt has shown in various articles in *J.P.O.S.*, xi (1931), xii (1932), xv (1935). But its identification with Tell eš-Šerî'eh, as Alt suggested, is also open to doubt. This small, prominent tell testifies to the remains of a fortress, which from the evidence of the pottery is to be referred to the Roman-Byzantine period. It is true that an examination of the surface of the tell revealed sherds from the Iron Age and also some from an earlier age, but there are no grounds for assuming that it was an important settlement during these periods. It should be mentioned that there is actually no proof offered by the Old Testament that there ever existed a *city* by the name of Gerar, and, furthermore, no such city is mentioned in any of the Egyptian documents or in the El-Amarna letters, while in the Roman-Byzantine period there was only a territory by this name, Saltus Gerariticus, in south-western Palestine. In Gen. x, 19, the territory of Canaan is described as " from (the Kingdom of) Sidon, as thou comest to Gerar, unto Gaza; as thou goest unto Sodom, and Gomorrah, and Adma, and Zeboim, even unto Lasha." Which is to say that in the south-west Canaan extends to the *territory of Gerar*, unto Gaza, and in the south-east to the territory known in the Old Testament as the *Kikkär*, unto Lasha. In the cycles of Abraham and Isaac reference is made to the king of Gerar and the land of Gerar (Gen. xx, 1; *ibid.*, xxvi, 1–3, etc.) and to the river of Gerar (Gen. xxvi, 17; the *torrens* Gerrar of the Byzantine period), while the name of Abimelech's capital (*cf.* Gen. xxvi, 7) is not specified. The territory of Gerar is also mentioned in 1 Chr. iv, 39 lxx, and II Chr. xiv, 13.

We cannot rule out the possibility that its name has been preserved in later sources. This supposition is based on the origin of the name, which is surely derived from the verb *rḏy*, Hebrew *rzy*, Aramaic *rd'*, Arabic ردي = *rd'* (compare the geographical names Jotbah, Jotbathah, Jogbehah), and it could very well be that in later times Yurza (= Yorza) received the Aramaizing form Yordā[14]. This last name is known to us from the writings of Josephus Flavius, who mentions 'Ιορδα[ν][15], a village close to the borders of Arabia, as the southernmost boundary-point of Judaea. He doubtless meant the southernmost boundary-point of Daromas, which included within its limits the territory afterwards known as Gerarike (Saltus Gerariticus), a town which would be situated in the area of Wâdi Ghazzeh on the Nabataean border. Thus, Yurza is none other than Orda[16], which, on the Madeba map is a point south of Seana (to-day Ḫirbet Šîḥân), on the road from Gaza to Elusa in the Negeb, and which is also known to us from other Byzantine sources. Alt suggested that Orda was the administrative and religious centre of Gerarike in the late Roman period, and he proposed that it be identified with Ḫirbet 'Irq, 11 km. E.S.E. of Tell Jemmeh[17], but in the light of the data at our disposal, and especially from the Madeba map, we can look for Orda west of these ruins and closer to Wâdi Ghazzeh. It would appear that Tell Jemmeh was abandoned at the end of the Persian period. As was the case with many other towns and villages, the settlement re-established itself at a nearby point, perhaps on the eastern side of Wâdi Ghazzeh, and continued under the same name. The evidence suggests that the later Yorda-Orda is to be found in one of the larger ruins in the neighbourhood of Tell Jemmeh.

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[13] *Cf.* 2 Kings xviii, 8: " He (Hezekiah) smote the Phillistines, even unto Gaza, and the borders thereof, from the tower of the watchmen to the fenced city ".

[14] By way of example I refer to Herodotus's calling Gaza *Καδύτις*, as well as to Greek Ekdippa for Biblical Achzib. *Cf.* also Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity*, p. 336, n, 10.

[15] Wars III, 3, 5.

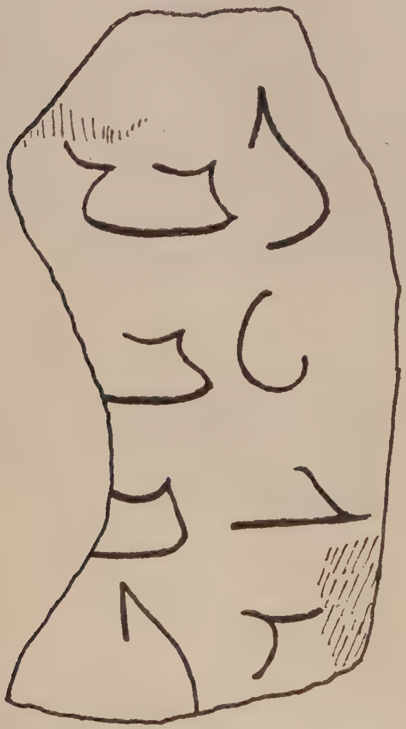
[16] See Wright-Filson, *Westminster Atlas to the Bible*, 1945, Plate XIV.

[17] See Alt, *J.P.O.S.*. XI, p. 204 ff.; XV, p. 294 ff.; XVII, p. 218 ff. ; M. Avi-Yonah, *Map of Roman Palestine**, p. 29.

A FRAGMENTARY PALMYRENE INSCRIPTION

By MANFRED CASSIRER

THE fragment under discussion, of which the accompanying illustration gives a life-size drawing, was acquired by the writer in London in 1951. It is of very hard silicified limestone of local origin. The cutting is well done but the form of the letter *lamed* is slightly unusual[1]. It has been suggested to me that it formed part of a tomb-relief, flanking the representation of the deceased. The object is obviously the right-hand top part of the inscription containing its beginning. The thickness is *c.* 2.3 cm.



Fragment of Palmyrene inscription.

Transcription.

לבר[יך שמה לעלמא][2]
טב
עב
מל

I have to thank Dr. Rabin for his help in identifying the script of this little monument, and Mrs. McKay for the above suggestion.

[1] So also in J. Cantineau, *Inventaire d. Inscrs.d.Palmyre*, p. 119, No. 198 (lines 1 and 4).

[2] For this common formula see G. A. Cooke, *North-Semitic Inscriptions*, p. 297, note 1.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Flora of the Land of Israel. Iconography by NAOMI FEINBRUN and MICHAEL ZOHARY. Drawn by RUTH KÖPPEL. Edited by the *Palestine Journal of Botany*, Jerusalem, 1949.

This first instalment of the iconography comprises ink drawings of fifty species from different parts of the country. They are all drawn from living specimens, mostly full size, with an accompanying text giving particulars of each plant and its habitat. These faithful studies of the individual plants have a flavour as of the illustrations to the old herbals; the line is somewhat inflexible but vigorous, and the unusual kind of paper gives a soft, rich quality. The printing is of the highest class and the folder cover designed by Francisca Baruch attractive. The iconography is designed for the botanist and the plant lover, though the former might ask for more detail; the format, each flower on a single sheet 25 × 17 cm., renders it peculiarly suitable for teaching purposes.

The flowers chosen include those most loved by all who have seen spring and early summer in the Holy Land—anemone, crocus, narcissus, ranunculus, scilla, hyacinth, mandragora and cyclamen. There are some rarities, such as the sky-blue *Bellevalia desertorum*, the purple-violet *Iris Mariæ* and the lilac-speckled *I. Nazarena*, *Orchis Galilæus*, and a variety of the bee-orchis, *Ophrys Dinsmorei*, named after J. E. Dinsmore, that devoted worker in the botanical field. There is also a wanderer, *Oenothera Drummondii*, a beautiful evening primrose, which spreads its downy grey leaves and large pale yellow flowers on sea beaches from Gaza to Akka. It is recorded that the " indefatigable Drummond, Assistant Naturalist to Capt. Sir John Franklin's overland expedition," sent this plant from the mouth of the river Brazos in Texas to Glasgow, where it flowered in the open in 1833. But by what happy accident it reached the Palestinian coast no one knows. It would be, as the authors suggest, a most decorative plant for seaside gardens.

This iconography is welcome to me for the memories it brings of these and many other lovely flowers, and of the help and encouragement given for their study by the botanists of the Hebrew University. I welcome it also for its promise of a Flora to come, a welcome in which I am sure other students will join me.

GRACE M. CROWFOOT.

The Hittite Laws. By E. NEUFELD, Ph.D., D.Litt. Luzac. 1951.

The original edition of the Hittite Laws appeared in 1922 with a translation into French, and in the same year a German translation was published by

J. Friedrich and H. Zimmern. An English translation was made by A. Walther for *The Origin and History of Hebrew Law* by J. M. P. Smith (Chicago, 1931), and improved translations of some of the laws were included by E. H. Sturtevant and G. Bechtel in their *Hittite Chrestomathy* (1935). Since that time a number of new fragments which fill lacunæ in the text have been published in facsimile and a new translation has for long been overdue.

Dr. Neufeld's book has now appeared almost simultaneously with a new translation by the eminent Hittitologist of Yale University, Professor A. Goetze, in the collective work *Ancient Oriental Texts relating to the Old Testament*, edited by J. B. Pritchard (Princeton, 1950). Dr. Neufeld is a newcomer to Hittite studies. He has obviously taken great pains to acquaint himself with the literature of the subject and has had assistance from a number of eminent scholars, some of whom are mentioned in the acknowledgments in the preface. But it could not be expected that his translation of this difficult text would be as authoritative as that of Dr. Goetze, who is the author of many standard editions of Hittite texts, and, indeed, a comparison of the two versions shows that that of Dr. Neufeld leaves something to be desired. Even so, it is an improvement on its precursors.

The laws are among the most difficult of the Hittite texts, on account of the numerous *hapax legomena* and the terse abbreviated style in which they are couched. The copula is omitted, pronouns are used freely where the reference is by no means clear, and there are frequent changes of subject without any indication in the text. In dealing with the unknown words, Dr. Neufeld has sometimes hazarded a translation which is pure guesswork, where Dr. Goetze prefers to leave the Hittite word untranslated. This procedure would be unobjectionable if the guesses were always clearly marked as such, but they are not. Brackets which should indicate restorations are sometimes omitted. But these are small points. There are also a few actual errors, one of which seriously affects the legal interpretation. This is the translation of LÚ (GIŠ) KU by " soldier ", for F. Sommer has shown that this term, which occurs in sections 40, 41, 52, 53, 112 and XXXVII must mean " craftsman ". The (GIŠ) KU is therefore not a military holding but a " craftsman's fee " (so Goetze). Dr. Neufeld seems to be unaware of Sommer's discussion of this term. Other less important mistranslations are the following : §50, (GIŠ) *eyan* is an evergreen tree, not a " cap of liberty " ; §57, *sawetesza* means " a weanling ", not " half a year old " (see Friedrich, *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* I p. 291) ; §106, *warseizzi* means " reap ", not " till " (the sense must be that the owner of the burnt field shall reap the offender's field) ; §169, *elzi* is a balance, but the sense remains obscure) ; §§149, 177, *ananuhha-* and *annanuwanza-* must mean " trained, skilled ", in opposition to *dampupi*—" unskilled " ; §193, the second part has only one clause which should read " If also his father dies, the son of his brother shall take her ".

But in view of the difficulties just mentioned and the ambiguity of many passages, the translation of these laws cannot be separated from their interpretation. Dr. Neufeld has clearly given much thought to this and has included in his book a full legal commentary and a general discussion of the nature and history of the laws and their social background. Yet there are several instances where he has failed to see the true meaning of an ambiguous phrase, and his legal comments are therefore worthless ; *e.g.* at the end of §28 " they shall take her away (or withhold) her from him " must mean " the authorities shall take the girl away from her seducer ", not " the parents shall take her away from her betrothed " as is implied by Neufeld's commentary on p. 145. This clause has been correctly interpreted by Goetze. But there are other instances, notably §§49 (end), 145, 163, 171, 175 and 190, where Neufeld's translation does not make sense and where Goetze has either omitted the passages altogether or indicated the uncertainty of his translation by italics. In these circumstances it is very questionable whether the time is yet ripe for a full-scale legal commentary on these laws such as Neufeld has attempted.

In his discussion of the general nature of the laws Neufeld maintains that we can detect in them a distinction between " customary " and " statutory " laws, the latter being those which explicitly emend earlier laws and all the rest being customary. This distinction is surely invalid. It is true that where a change in the penalty is introduced, that could only be done by a legislator. But the majority of these laws are simple statements of offences and the penalties attaching to them, and here we cannot tell whether the legislator has merely codified the existing customary law or promulgated new laws of his own.

Several remarks in the commentary seem to reveal confusion of thought. On p. 136, line 3, the phrase " a fine to the victim " (of assault and battery) is nonsense ; if the money is paid to the victim it constitutes not a fine but damages or compensation. The statement on p. 98 that " fines for slaves are generally half of those for free men " probably contains the same misuse of the word " fine " ; it is also extremely doubtful whether it is true, even if " damages " is read instead of " fines ". The sections quoted in support of it in footnote 19 refer to damages to be paid when the victim, not the offender, is a slave. Sections 93–97 seem to support Neufeld's statement, but even there the meaning is not altogether certain. On p. 117, line 9, the phrase " right by payment " seems to be a mistake for " right to payment ". On p. 119 the reason for the statement " The Hittites must have recognised the same three classes as the Babylonians " is obscure. The word *muškênu* in Hittite seems to be used in the sense of " a poor man ", not a " half-free man ".

Finally, one must criticise the inclusion in a work of this kind of a discursive chapter on the discovery of the Hittite archives and their decipherment, on the cuneiform script in general and Hittite cuneiform in particular, and on the Hittite language and its relationship to Indo-European. The inclusion of a translation of the laws into Hebrew may serve some purpose best known to the author ; but from a scientific point of view it would surely have been better to use the space thus occupied for an accurate transliteration of the text, for the only existing transliteration is that of Hrozny, which was published in 1922 and is completely antiquated.

The publication of photographs of all the tablets concerned, covering 50 plates, must have added considerably to the cost of the book and is not of very much value, since the tablets have been copied by experienced scholars and there are very few doubtful readings. Moreover, Dr. Neufeld has been unfortunate here, for nos. 2, 19 and 58 are upside down, and the upper and lower halves of nos. 3 and 4, which were originally printed separately in Hrozny's edition, should not have been placed together in this way, since they overlap and eight lines of text are thus shown twice. Nos. 1–4 are in any case useless since they have been so much reduced as to be practically illegible.

In brief, one can hardly recommend this book either to the specialist in Hittite or to the student of ancient law. For the study of these laws the first essential is an accurate transliteration and translation. The former is still outstanding and the latter has been provided (within the limits of possibility at the present time) by Professor Goetze. Dr. Neufeld's commentary may be read with interest by many but students of comparative law will probably find in it little that is new and much that is misleading.

O. R. GURNEY.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks the following :—

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**City of Shepherd Kings.* W. M. Flinders Petrie, and *Ancient Gaza V.* Ernest J. H. Mackay and Margaret A. Murray.

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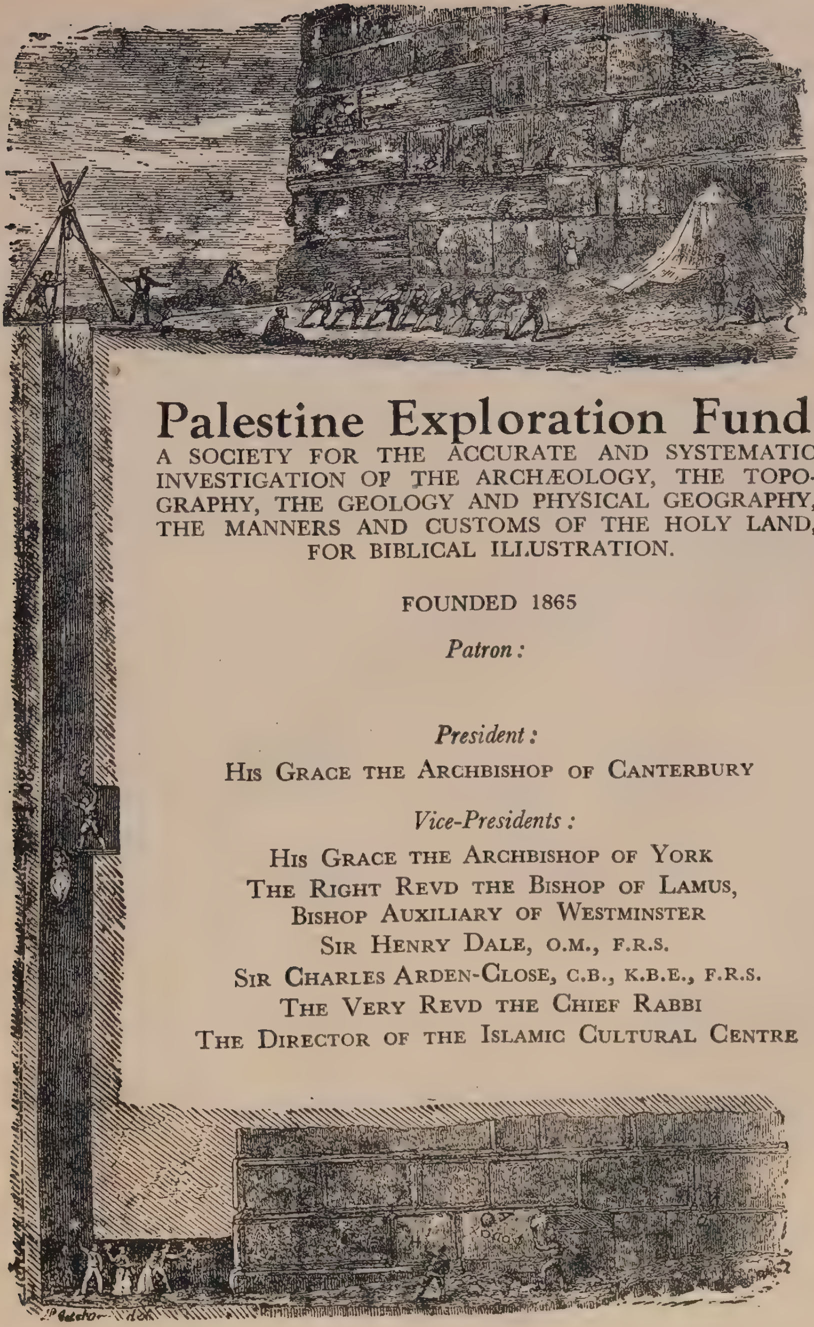

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THE
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

NOTES AND NEWS

We have to record with deep regret the death of Sir Frederic Kenyon at the ripe age of 89. He was for many years a valued friend of the Palestine Exploration Fund and a member of its Executive Committee whose meetings he continued to attend up to the last year of his life. An obituary notice will appear later in the QUARTERLY.

The discoveries in the Ain Feshkha cave have led to further fruitful exploration in the neighbourhood, the results of which are described by Mr. Lankester Harding in the present issue of the QUARTERLY. These fresh discoveries go far to remove any grounds for scepticism concerning the place of discovery of the so-called Dead Sea Scrolls, and also provide further help towards the dating of the Scrolls. Mr. Harding, with the permission of his collaborator, Père De Vaux, has kindly forwarded a note on the bronze rolls mentioned in his article. He says: " These were found by a joint expedition of the École Biblique et Archéologique Française, the American School of Oriental Research, and the Palestine Archæological Museum. There are two pieces, one about 80 cms. the other 160 cms. long, by about 30 cms. in height. They are inscribed in columns, like a scroll, in what appears to be Aramaic, though it is not possible to read anything as yet. The longer roll consists of two pieces joined together by rivets, and the shorter piece was originally joined to the longer. It seems that they originally constituted a panel which was perhaps set up in a building, and during a time of danger they were removed, rolled up for convenience, and hidden in the cave where they were found. They most probably date from the 1st century A.D. The problem of unrolling these remarkable objects is now being studied; the bronze is completely oxidised and is very brittle."

It is gratifying to know that the important excavation of Mari, which was begun in 1934 under the leadership of Professor André Parrot, and was interrupted by the war, has now been resumed. During the campaign of 1951–2, the seventh of the series, the most striking feature was the discovery of the foundations of a 3rd millennium ziqqurat underlying the ziqqurat which had been brought to light in 1937; the latter is now dated by Professor Parrot during the Assyrian occupation of the city which lasted for several centuries. Many objects of interest were also discovered, among which were fragments of a shell mosaic panel, a fine Akkadian seal, and several statuettes. No fresh discovery of tablets is recorded.

It is no less welcome news to learn that the Syrian Government has granted to Professor Schaeffer permission to resume his excavations at Ras Shamra, a permission valid for five years. In Vol. XXVIII of *Syria* Professor Schaeffer describes the steps which led to the granting of this permission, and records the results of the soundings made in 1948–9 and of the campaign of 1950; the same volume contains the transcription and translation by M. Virolleaud of a number of new tablets, some in Ugaritic and some in Akkadian. At the end of his report, Professor Schaeffer discusses the problem posed by the strange and apparently complete cessation of the hitherto abundant literary activity of Ugarit after about the middle of the 14th century B.C. He suggests that the cause may be the advent of a new type of settlers devoid of the literary culture possessed by their predecessors, possibly the forerunners of the great invasions at the close of the Bronze Age, generally known as the invasions of the Sea-Peoples. An interesting feature of the collection of tablets translated by M. Virolleaud is the fragment of a letter in Akkadian addressed to Hammurabi, the king of Ugarit, a name not hitherto met with among the names of the kings of Ugarit.

In *Syria*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 225f., M. Henri Seyrig records a find which is interesting both from the epigraphical and the historical point of view. This is a bronze disk, not cast but struck, like a coin, on a circular plate with bevelled edges, and containing an inscription in Phenician characters on each side of it. It had been found in the sand on the sea-shore of Tyre. Professor Dupont-Sommer, who happened to be at Beirut when the object was brought to M. Seyrig, deciphered the inscription as reading, on the one side—*lmlqrt bṣr*, and on the other—*hyrw ’sls*. The sense of the first two words is clear—"To Melqart in Tyre", Melqart being the well-known name of the ancient Baal of Tyre; but the second couple of words do not yield any satisfactory sense. As a provisional solution, approved by Professor Dupont Sommer, M. Seyrig offers the interesting suggestion that the words may be a transcription in Phenician letters of the Greek words ἷερα and ἄσυλος, meaning "sacred and inviolable"; he goes on to suggest that, if this solution be accepted, the disk may have been struck to commemorate the granting of the privilege of sanctity and asylum to Tyre by Demetrius II in 141–0 B.C. Hence the apparently insignificant and valueless object is of no small historical interest, and also the lapidary style of the somewhat crude characters should be of interest to the epigraphers.

The vast mass of inscriptional material from Mari is now beginning to be available for students. Three volumes of the series entitled *Archives royales de Mari* have already appeared containing the autographic copies of the tablets and in addition three more volumes have been published giving the transliteration and translation of the texts in the first series. In the latter, M. G. Dossin is responsible for the *Correspondance de Šamši-Addu*, M. C-F. Jean for *Lettres diverses*, and M. J-R. Kupper for the *Correspondance de Kibri-Dagan.* In his review article in the *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, April, 1952, Professor Oppenheim remarks that the Mari letters are far more difficult than some of the translators seem to think. He goes on to say: " Serious and purposeful philological research on these texts has scarcely more than started; their specific dialectical features are only known in their cruder outlines, and it will require much patient work to prepare the way for a better understanding of the Mari Letters." The notes which follow are interesting and helpful, but since so little is yet known about the general contents of the letters, one might have expected a review article to devote a little more space to some description of the subjects dealt with in the letters and the picture which they give of the contemporary scene.

The same issue of the Journal contains a transcription and translation of a Neo-Babylonian Gilgamesh fragment by Dr. Alexander Heidel whose valuable contributions to our knowledge of the famous Epic are well known.

In the *Revue Biblique* for April, 1952, a considerable amount of space is devoted to the subject of the so-called Dead Sea Scrolls, now apparently to be known as the Qumran MSS. There is an article by Professor A. Guillaume supporting the Maccabean date of the Isaiah scroll; a long and valuable article by R. P. D. Barthélemy under the title *Marginal Notes on Recent Publications relating to the Qumran MSS*; and an article by R. P. J-P. Audet on *The Literary and Doctrinal Affinities of the Manual of Discipline.* The last named article draws out some interesting parallels between the *Manual* and the early Christian work known as the *Didaché.*

The January 1952 issue of the same journal contains an important article by M. Dunand on Byblos in the Early Bronze Age and at the time of the Amorite conquest.

EXCAVATIONS AT JERICHO, 1952

By Kathleen M. Kenyon
Director, British School of Archæology in Jerusalem

In January, 1952, the British School of Archæology resumed active work in Palestine, after a long pause enforced by the Second World War and the ensuing troubles in Palestine. The School has not got the financial resources to establish a permanent headquarters in Palestine, but it is hoped that it will be able to carry out an annual season of excavations, by which two of its aims, the furtherance of research and the training of students, will once more be implemented.

The site selected for excavation in 1952 was Jericho, where the previous excavations[1] had thrown much light both on the Biblical period and the preceding ages back to the earliest prehistoric times, but where many problems remained to be solved. The British expedition was sponsored jointly with the School by the Palestine Exploration Fund, and substantial contributions to the cost were made by the British Academy, Sydney University, Birmingham City Museum, the Ashmolean Museum, Cambridge Museum of Archæology and Ethnology and Manchester University. The excavations were undertaken jointly with the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem, and members of the staff and students of this school participated in the work, Dr. A. D. Tushingham, Annual Professor of the American School, acting as Assistant Director of the Expedition.[2] A contribution to the excavations was also made by the Pontifical Biblical Institute.

The Expedition was accorded every facility by the Department of Antiquities of the Hashemite Kingdom of the Jordan, and the most grateful thanks of the two Schools are due to the Government of the Jordan for permission to excavate, and to Mr. G. L. Harding, F.S.A., Director of the Department of Antiquities for his very great help in every direction. Thanks are also due to Auni Beg Dajani, Inspector for Palestine in the Department, who participated in the excavations and who was of very great assistance in making all local arrangements. The British members of the expedition

---

[1] Sellin and Watzinger, Jericho. Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen: 1913. Professor J. Garstang, Liverpool Annals of Art and Archæology, XIX–XXI.

[2] The members of the expedition were: Miss K. M. Kenyon, Director; Dr. A. D. Tushingham, Assistant Director; Miss D. Ashcroft, Mr. N. Chittick, Auni Beg Dajani, Mr. J. Evans, Dr. Abdul Karim Gharreybeh, Dr. W. Hamrick, Mr. B. Hennessy, Mr. S. Hood, Miss D. Kirkbride, Mr. J. Mellart, Father R. North, Dr. W. L. Reed, Miss G. Talbot, Mr. G. van Beek, Field Assistants; Mr. P. Pedrette and Mr. G. Wright, Surveyors; Mrs. Gell, Draughtsman; Miss N. Lord, Photographer; Miss D. Marshall and Mrs. Tushingham, Registrars and Mrs. Bowman, Quartermaster.

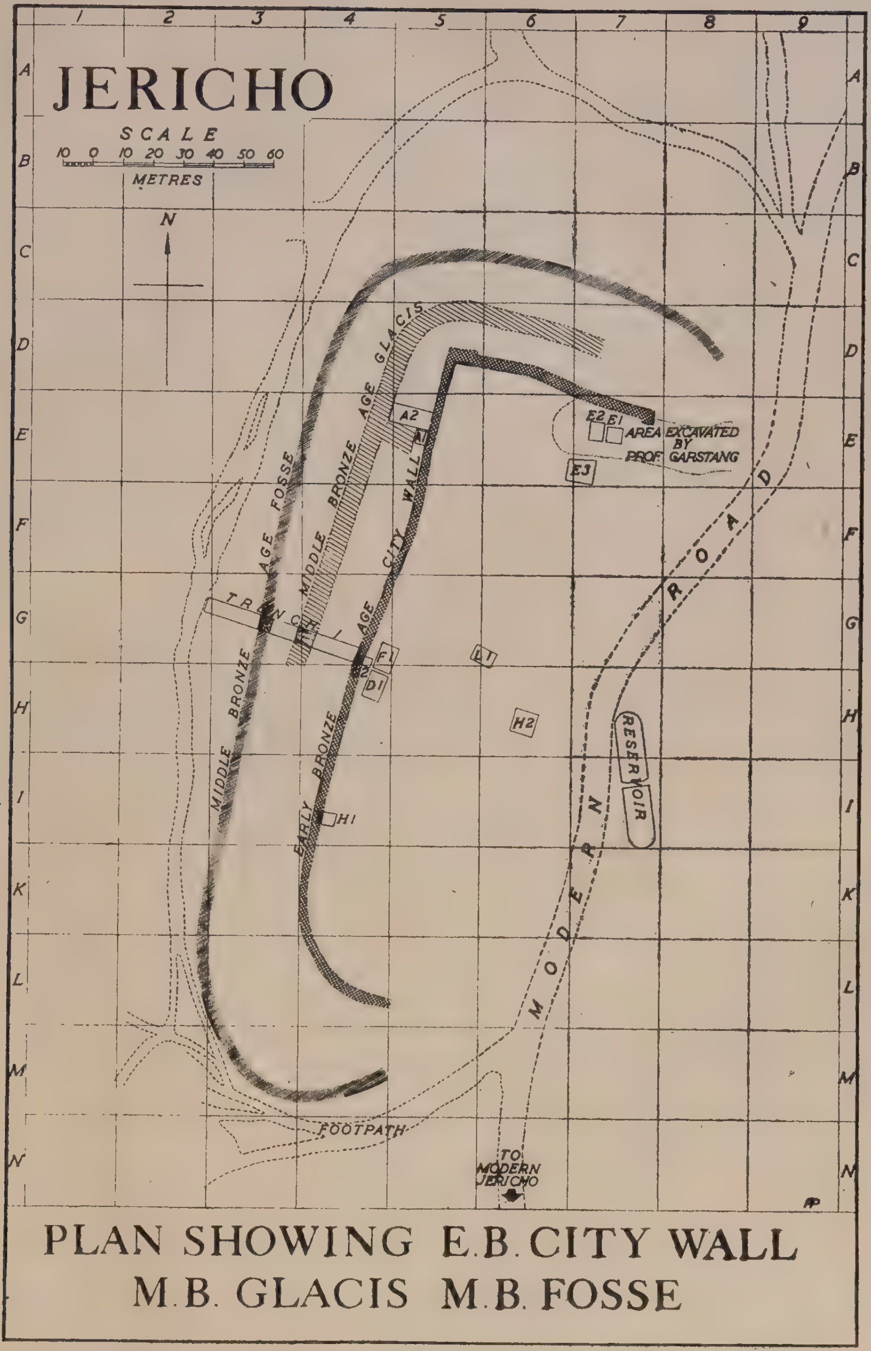
JERICHO
SCALE
10 0 10 20 30 40 50 60
METRES
N
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
A B C D E F G H I K L M N
MIDDLE BRONZE AGE GLACIS
MIDDLE BRONZE AGE FOSSE
EARLY BRONZE AGE CITY WALL
TRENCH I
A2
A1
E2
E1
E3
AREA EXCAVATED BY PROF. GARSTANG
F1
D1
L1
H1
H2
RESERVOIR
MODERN ROAD
FOOTPATH
TO MODERN JERICHO
PLAN SHOWING E.B. CITY WALL
M.B. GLACIS M.B. FOSSE

Fig. 1.

also owe very warm thanks to Dr. W. L. Reed, Director of the American School and Mrs. Reed, for generous hospitality in Jerusalem and for much help in the organization of the expedition and in the provision of equipment.

The excavations had three main aims, to obtain additional evidence on the date of the fall of the latest Bronze Age city, presumably to be associated with the Israelite invasion under Joshua, to clear a further area of the very important Neolithic remains discovered by Professor Garstang, and to excavate more of the rich tombs known to lie in the vicinity of the city. The results will be described in that order.

The investigations of the Bronze Age defences were carried out in two main areas, Site A I in Square E 5, near the north-west corner, and Trench I in Square G 3–4 in the centre of the west side. The complete sequence was best revealed in Trench I, while Site A I added some important details.

Trench I stretched from the line of defences previously located to the foot of the mound, and the stratification in the present stage of the excavations shows no less than twelve successive structural phases (Fig. 2), seven belonging to the Early Bronze Age, one to the Intermediate Early Bronze-Middle Bronze period, three to the Middle Bronze Age, and one to the Iron Age. The seven Early Bronze Age phases are represented by seven successive rebuildings of the city wall. These walls are numbered 1 to 7 in the section, Fig. 2, wall 5, above wall 4, being missing on the drawn section, but present in the south side of the trench. All the walls are constructed of flat mud-bricks, usually with a foundation course of rough stones. The earliest wall, wall I, is represented here only by tumbled bricks, but those can be interpreted as the remains of a collapsed wall, probably destroyed by earthquake, on the evidence of Site A I (see below, p. 68). The four succeeding walls 2–5 all followed approximately the same line. Each in turn was destroyed, though there is no evidence as to the cause of the destruction, for sloping down the hill from the line of the walls are successive layers made up of broken bricks. Wall 5 was destroyed to its bottom two courses on the south side of the trench, and has completely disappeared on the north side. At this stage, the expansion of the city, at least on the west side, apparently began, for wall 6 is set some 5 m. further down the slope of the mound. It is built with deep foundations cut very clearly into the layer of debris (" Grey Soil and Yellow Bricks " in Fig. 2) which crosses the top of wall 5, and of wall 4 where the former has disappeared.

The pottery associated with all these walls is Early Bronze Age, c. 3100–2100 B.C. Superimposed on wall 6 is wall 7. This is again dated to the Early Bronze Age. This wall, however, marks the end of the Early Bronze Age succession, and the manner of its construction and destruction illustrates the catastrophe which brought this period to an end in Palestine. There are a number of remarkable features about its construction. It consists of foundations of rough stones to a height of c. ·75 m. with mud brick above that. The bricks include a large number of broken fragments, which is most unusual. The stone foundations are for the most part of small and very loose rubble, with larger stones at the base and in the faces. The whole, stone foundations and brick superstructure, has been completely burnt through and through and it would obviously require very unusual conditions to burn the core and foundations of a thick wall. Such unusual conditions are apparently provided by the fact that the wall was unfinished. The stone foundations were set directly on top of the underlying wall 6. There can be no doubt that they were meant to be incased in soil, for they are much too loose to have supported any weight without this. But before this was done, the wall was burnt, for the vividly burnt layers of the destruction of the wall, visible in Pl. XIV.1, come right down against the stone foundations, which were therefore still bare at the time of the burning. The fact that the stone foundations were exposed would, moreover, provide the necessary conditions for the tremendous burning of the wall. The looseness of the stone-work would generate the draught necessary to produce the intense heat, and would conduct the heat into the very core of the wall. The ash layers against the wall, in beautiful pastel shades of blues, greys and pinks, suggest that brushwood, or thatch from houses, was piled against the wall to start the conflagration. The conditions are thus probably closely analogous to those which produce the vitrified walls well known in European Iron Age archæology.

It would thus appear that at a time when wall 6 had been largely destroyed, there was a sudden threat of attack. The inhabitants of Jericho set to work feverishly to repair the defences, building with any material to hand, including broken bricks and small rubble, and not stopping to complete the foundations with the essential earth casing before starting on the superstructure. In spite of this, before the wall could be completed, the city was attacked and the wall destroyed.

The identity of the attackers is clear, for the destruction of the wall marks the end of Early Bronze Age Jericho. At a number of sites in Palestine, the end of the Early Bronze Age is marked by the appearance of an entirely new culture, with different pottery, weapons, architecture and burial customs, which can best be called Intermediate Early Bronze-Middle Bronze.[3] The intrusion of a new people at this stage was thus previously known, but evidence of their violent destruction of the civilisation which had lasted for a millennium has not hitherto been so vividly illustrated. Jericho has also confirmed evidence hinted at elsewhere as to the character of the invaders, for it is clear, as will be seen, that their architectural traditions were primitive, and that they represent one of the waves of nomadic peoples which from time to time have overwhelmed the fertile fringes of the Arabian desert. This conclusion is confirmed by their burial customs. In place of the great multiple burial tombs, with their rich offerings, appear austere single burials, with usually a single dagger or at most one or two pots, placed with the body.

The primitive architecture of this intrusive people is illustrated by the

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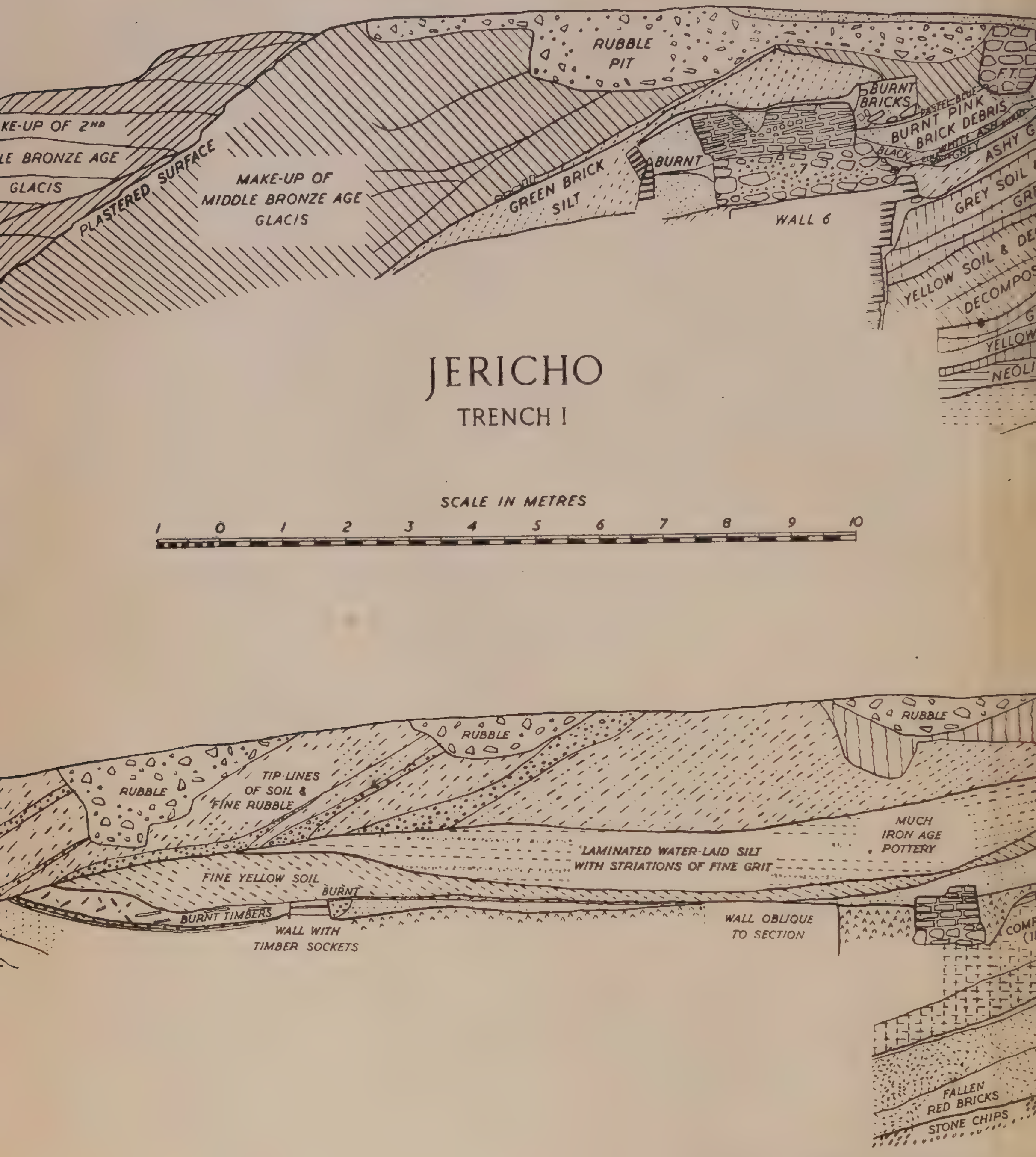
[3] See P.E.Q., 1951, p. 106, footnote for the use of the term E.B.-M.B. for the material classified by Professor Albright as M.B.I.


RUBBLE PIT
KE-UP OF 2ND
LE BRONZE AGE
GLACIS
PLASTERED SURFACE
MAKE-UP OF
MIDDLE BRONZE AGE
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GREEN BRICK
SILT
BURNT
WALL 6
BURNT BRICKS
PASTEL BLUE
BURNT PINK
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BLACK
WHITE ASH
GREY
F.T.
ASHY G
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1 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
RUBBLE
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RUBBLE
RUBBLE
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BURNT
BURNT TIMBERS
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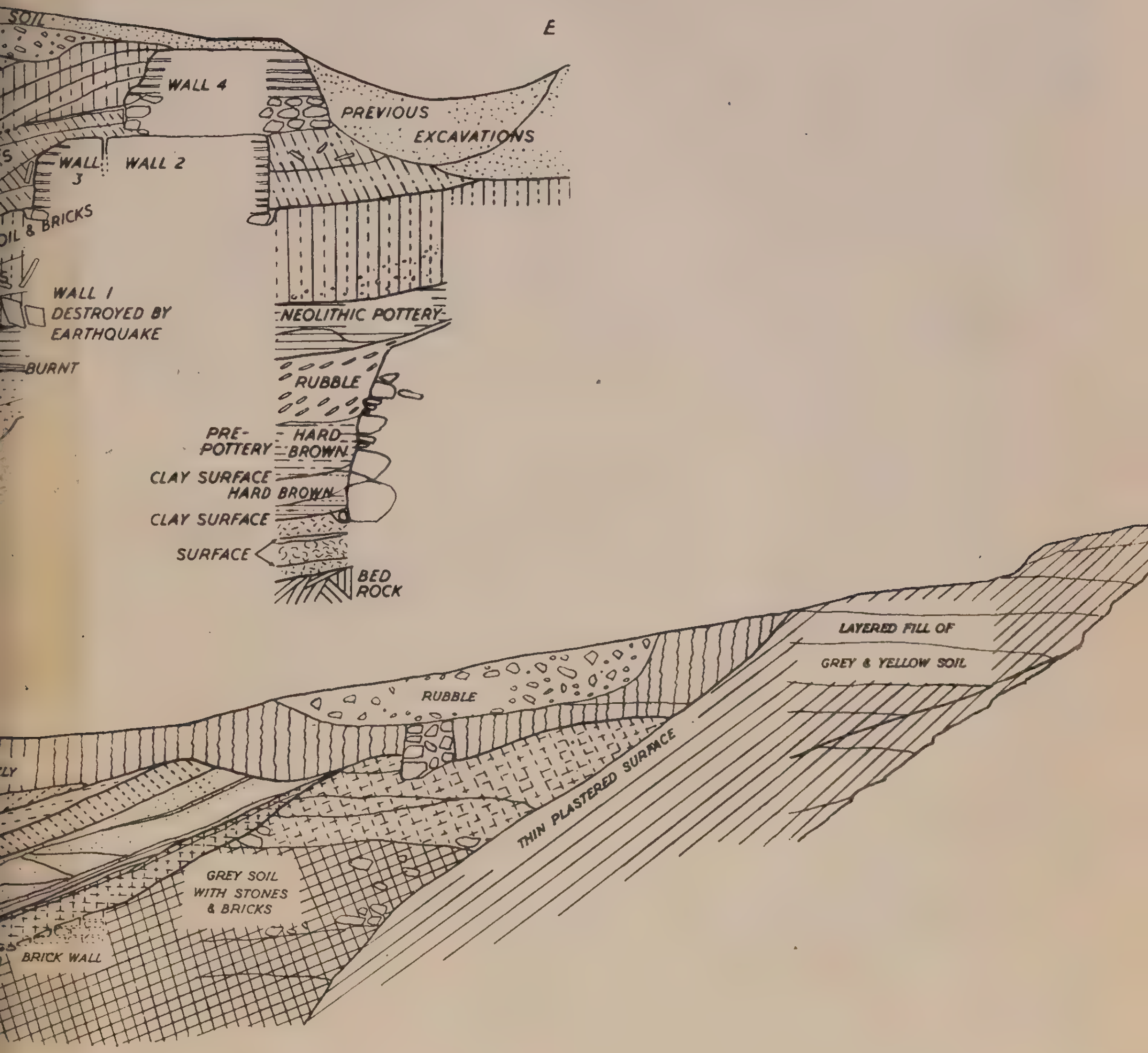
STONE CHIPS

Fig. 2. Section of Trench I. (T


SOIL
E
WALL 4
PREVIOUS EXCAVATIONS
S
WALL 3
WALL 2
OIL & BRICKS
WALL 1
DESTROYED BY EARTHQUAKE
BURNT
NEOLITHIC POTTERY
RUBBLE
PRE-POTTERY
HARD BROWN
CLAY SURFACE
HARD BROWN
CLAY SURFACE
SURFACE
BED ROCK
LAYERED FILL OF
GREY & YELLOW SOIL
RUBBLE
LY
THIN PLASTERED SURFACE
GREY SOIL WITH STONES & BRICKS
BRICK WALL

aps bottom half for distance of 6 m.)

structure which succeeds the burnt wall. Irregularly across its front, partly against its burnt debris, and partly running across its foundations where the debris had been cleared away, is a structure unlike any found at any other period at Jericho. It is partly of brick of a peculiar green tinge, only one course thick, and part is a patch of rough field stones (Pl. XIV.2). Another wall, again only one course thick, runs down the slope at right angles to that against the burnt wall, so it would appear to be part of a building rather than a defensive wall, but not enough has as yet been cleared to be certain of its character. Associated with these walls is pottery of the distinctive E.B.-M.B. type, examples of which are illustrated in Fig. 6.

The succession of Early Bronze Age walls was further illustrated in Site A I near the north-west corner of the city (Fig. 3) at the highest surviving part of the Tell. There a deep sounding was made against the line of the walls exposed along the crest by the previous excavations. Four successive walls were uncovered on this line, while two higher ones are visible further to the north. The linking up of these walls with those uncovered in Trench I has not yet been completed.

The lowest wall was quite clearly destroyed by an earthquake. Its remains were discovered with the face of the wall lying prone on the contemporary surface (Pl. XV.1), with the coursing intact, and above it a tumbled mass of bricks from the rear of the wall. Its footing-course of stones was visible in the side of the trench. From the associated pottery it can be dated to E.B.Ib, probably about 3000 B.C. (see p. 78). E.B. pottery was found to the limit, a further 1·40 m., that it was possible to excavate in the confined space available, so the wall does not represent the first Early Bronze Age occupation on the site. The wall can, from the character of its remains, safely be equated with wall I in Trench I.

Above the mass of tumbled bricks are the foundations of the second wall in this area. This and the overlying ones are all preserved to a considerably greater height than the corresponding ones in Trench I. The reason would appear to be that over a long period of time, midden material was here thrown over the city walls. Of the material banked up against the walls, a fill of about ·75 m. of hard grey material against the second wall alone would appear to be an intentional raising of level. The rest is made up of horizontally striated soft brown burnt material, typically midden-like in appearance, and separated by a series of temporary and ill-defined surfaces. This midden-accumulation presumably accounts for the greater height of the Tell in this area, though why it should have been thrown over the walls here over a very long period of time is obscure.

The third wall is cut into the top of the second wall (Pl. XV.2), the front of which has been slightly displaced forward in the process. A mound of hard clay fills the foundation trench, and over it and sloping down to the west is a well-defined line of black burning, showing that at this stage the second wall was completely buried to its surviving top by the midden-accumulation against its face. The fourth wall is built directly on top of the

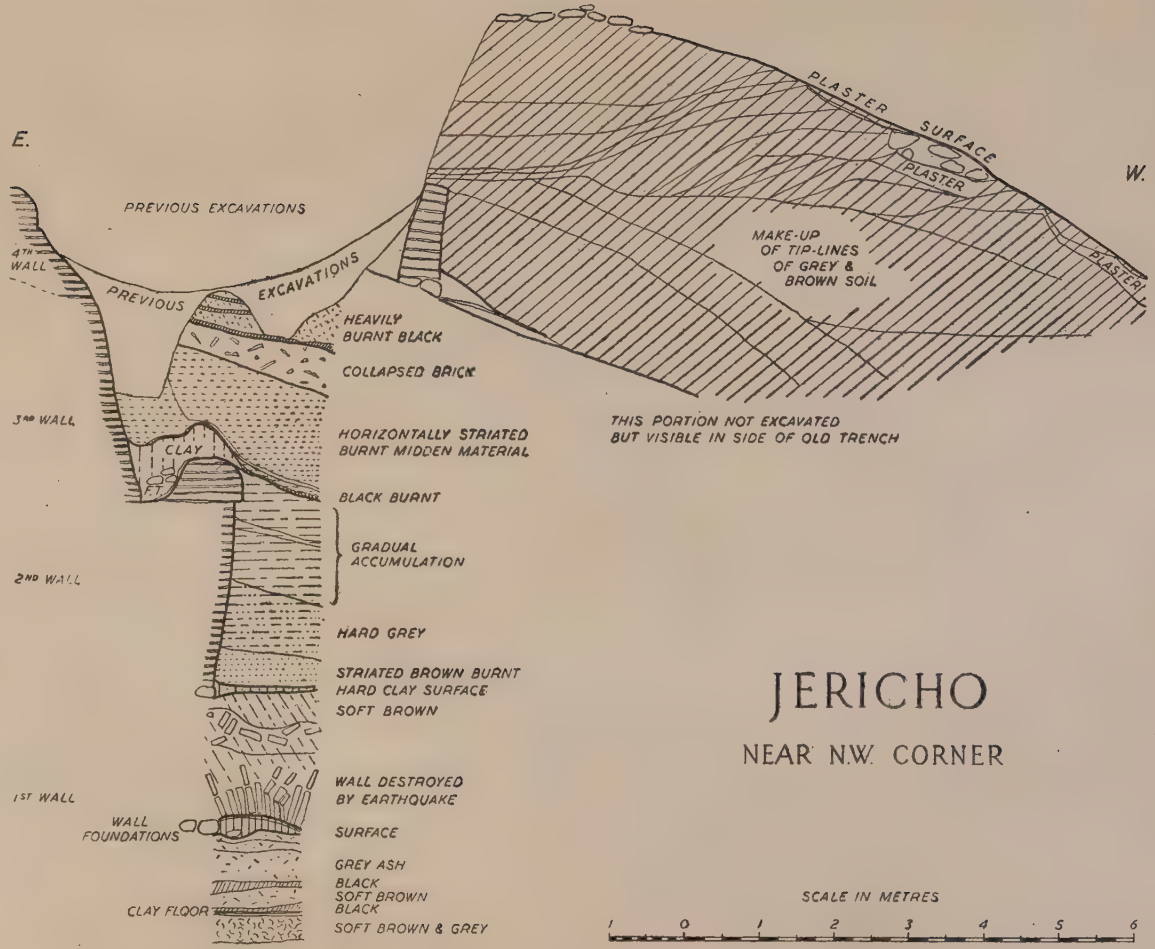

E.
W.
PREVIOUS EXCAVATIONS
PREVIOUS
EXCAVATIONS
4TH WALL
3RD WALL
2ND WALL
1ST WALL
WALL FOUNDATIONS
CLAY FLOOR
CLAY
F.T.
HEAVILY BURNT BLACK
COLLAPSED BRICK
HORIZONTALLY STRIATED BURNT MIDDEN MATERIAL
BLACK BURNT
GRADUAL ACCUMULATION
HARD GREY
STRIATED BROWN BURNT
HARD CLAY SURFACE
SOFT BROWN
WALL DESTROYED BY EARTHQUAKE
SURFACE
GREY ASH
BLACK
SOFT BROWN
BLACK
SOFT BROWN & GREY
PLASTER
SURFACE
PLASTER
PLASTER
MAKE-UP OF TIP-LINES OF GREY & BROWN SOIL
THIS PORTION NOT EXCAVATED BUT VISIBLE IN SIDE OF OLD TRENCH
JERICHO
NEAR N.W. CORNER
SCALE IN METRES
1
0
1
2
3
4
5
6

Fig. 3. Section of Site A 1.

third, following its irregularly destroyed top, and only distinguished from it by a difference in colour of the bricks. Overlying the top of the midden-accumulation in front are heavily-burnt layers, probably corresponding to those in Trench I, but their connection with the walls uncovered had been cut by the trenches of the previous excavations. Work here has not yet been carried sufficiently far down the hill to show whether there are walls in the relative positions of walls 6 and 7 in Trench I.

The Intermediate Early Bronze-Middle Bronze phase is usually dated to c. 2100 to 1900 B.C., and is followed by the true Middle Bronze Age, again marked by a complete break, and the appearance of new pottery, weapons, architecture and burial customs, this time indicative of a much more advanced culture. In both Trench I and Site A I, the defences of this new stage are clearly shown. In Trench I, the structures of the E.B.-M.B. phase were found collapsed in a silt-like layer of decayed green brick. This and the preceding E.B. walls are all buried beneath a great fill, built up in a series of layers of grey and brown soil, in appearance like a multi-decker sandwich. The layers of the sandwich correspond at the outer edge with layers of marl plaster running back from a plastered glacis, the face of which shows a series of ledges corresponding to the layers (Pl. XVI.1). The fill behind the glacis contained a considerable amount of pottery. The great majority of the sherds were E.B.-M.B., but there were also a number of Middle Bronze Age sherds, and it is thus clear that the new defensive system was the work of fresh people, probably soon after their arrival, when there was little of their pottery lying about in comparison with that of their predecessors.

This glacis can be traced round the north-west sector of the city (plan, Fig. 1). It was visible immediately to the west of Site A I (see Fig. 3), and though it was not excavated, clearance of the face of the adjoining trench of the previous excavations showed that the underlying fill is identical in character with that in Trench I, and that the fill similarly buried the Early Bronze Age walls. The turn of the glacis towards the east at the north-west corner is visible in the area cleared in the German excavations, in Square D 5, and it appears in one of Professor Garstang's trenches in Square D 6. It presumably therefore follows the outline of the mound all round, in approximately the same relative position to the Early Bronze Age walls as in the sector traced.

Two subsequent defensive systems can also be dated to the Middle Bronze Age ; these are shown in the section Fig. 2, and in a view of Trench I on Pl. XVI.2. The original plastered glacis was succeeded by and buried beneath a similar structure, with a fill built up in the same sandwich method, and again with a sloping plastered surface, which was however much thinner and less well-preserved than that of the first glacis. The second glacis was in turn buried beneath a fill which is faced by a substantial stone revetment (Pl. XVII.1). This is the inner side of the great Fosse which was traced round the greater part of the mound in previous excavations.

These three defensive systems are all dated to the Middle Bronze Age, roughly between 1900 B.C. and 1600 B.C., by the pottery in the associated fillings. When the pottery has been examined in more detail, it will probably be possible to date them more exactly within this period. Not only are they associated with the new culture and presumably new peoples which appear in Palestine at this stage, but they represent a new form of defence, in which the base of the city wall is protected by a long slope. Little survives of the walls which must have surmounted the slopes. In Site A I alone do footings which must represent the wall belonging to the first glacis survive (Fig. 3), at the very highest point of the Tell. Nothing has so far been found of the wall belonging to the second glacis, while that belonging to the stone Fosse is represented only by the stump of a mud-brick wall. The base of the slopes has also not been investigated. Indications in the earlier excavations suggest that the stone revetment forms the side of a ditch, and it has therefore been described as a Fosse, but there is no evidence concerning the plastered slopes, and it is therefore not certain that they should be described as glacis, or should more properly be called the scarps of ditches.

This new type of constructing defences indicates a new type of warfare, for it is axiomatic in military science that new defensive methods are devised in reply to new methods of attack. The Middle Bronze Age is the period of the Hyksos, who are credited with the introduction of chariot warfare in the eastern Mediterranean area, and it seems very probable that the strengthening of the walls by these sloping defences is in fact against chariotry, which would thereby be prevented from rushing up to the foot of the walls. The full implications of the systems, however, cannot be worked out until excavation has been completed to their bases.

Overlying the Middle Bronze Age defences is a thick deposit of Iron Age material, probably seventh century B.C. in date.[4] Above the filled-in Fosse is a substantial building of this period, set slightly askew to the line of the Fosse, which has not yet been sufficiently cleared for identification.

There is thus a chronological gap of some 900 years in the remains uncovered in the area excavated. This gap unfortunately includes the period of Joshua, which has been variously dated between 1400 B.C. and 1260 B.C. It is too early to say what is the explanation of this surprising fact. It is however clear that tremendous denudation of the upper levels of the Tell has taken place. As has already been said, only the lower parts of the Middle Bronze Age defences survive in the area excavated this year. Moreover, in a clearance immediately inside the defences (Sites D I and F I in Fig. 1), the latest surviving structures were Early Bronze Age in date, of the type of round houses (Pl. XVII.2) found by Professor Garstang in Squares E 6–8 at the base of the Early Bronze Ages succession. Here, therefore, all the Early Bronze Age houses after E.B.I., and all the great Middle Bronze Age city which the defences prove to have existed, have disappeared completely. A trial excavation at the highest surviving point on the crest of the Tell

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[4] The pottery corresponds closely to that of Tell Beit Mirsim level A, *A.A.S.O.R.* XII.

(Site L I on plan, Fig. 1) showed that even there the highest deposits belonged to the Early Bronze Age. This disappearance of levels may be partly due to denudation during a period of abandonment, such as is described in the Bible after the destruction by Joshua. But it is also certainly due in part to wholesale quarrying of the mound for soil to make bricks or to manure fields, for a number of great pits which must represent this were found in the course of excavation, and are shown in the section, Fig. 2. Much of this quarrying took place at an early date, for in Sites D I and F I were found quarry pits containing Byzantine and Early Bronze Age sherds, but none of the intervening periods ; the Middle Bronze Age and any later deposits must therefore have disappeared before the Byzantine period. The only area, in fact, in which Middle Bronze structures survive is on the east side of the Tell, where Professor Garstang excavated important storerooms of this period.[5] Here too were found deposits probably to be assigned to the fourteenth century B.C.,[6] which may be all that remain of the interior of the city of the period of Joshua. A further excavation has been begun in this area (Site H 2 on Fig. 1), and search for surviving structures of this period will be continued.

The second aim of the Expedition was to carry further the investigation of the highly important remains belonging to the Neolithic period, discovered by Professor Garstang beneath the Early Bronze Age city. These investigations have been most successful. Professor Garstang had sunk a great trench in the north-east sector of the Tell (Squares E 6–8, Fig. 1). In this, he had identified two stages, a Neolithic phase with pottery, and beneath it a Neolithic phase without pottery. In a very limited area, he had cut down through a series of these pre-pottery levels to reach Mesolithic levels beneath. In order to examine these pre-pottery levels more fully, the bottom of his main trench was cleaned up, and excavation continued down (Pl. XVIII.1). This revealed a further interesting area of the type of structures excavated previously, solidly-built houses with rectangular rooms, the floors and walls of which were covered with fine mud-plaster and highly burnished red or yellow pigment (Pl. XVIII.2). One room suggested a small shrine, for there was a niche at one end, with a rough stone pedestal at its base. Nearby was found a carefully-worked pillar of volcanic stone, which may represent the cult object (Pl. XIX.1). Flints, stone bowls and mortars and other objects were recovered from the fill of the rooms, which have not yet been fully studied. One interesting find was the skull of an old man, carefully set upright beneath the floor in the corner of one room (Pl. XIX.2). The owner of the skull may have been a much venerated individual, whose wisdom the occupants of the house desired to preserve in this way. The skeletons of three babies buried beneath the floors were also found.

Excavation in this area has so far served to illustrate further the finds of the previous excavations, but have not produced any new facts about Neolithic Jericho. What is new came from Sites D I, F I and G 2, immediately east of Trench I. Neolithic pottery levels were reached here at the surprisingly high level of 1·50 m. below the surface, with pre-pottery levels beneath them associated with houses of the same type as those found about 120 m. away in Site E. Here at once is proof that Neolithic Jericho was no small settlement round the spring, but was certainly half as large as the Early Bronze Age city, and might have extended as far as it again to the south. The importance of the site at this period was, however, carried a stage beyond even that, for almost directly beneath the Early Bronze Age city wall was found (Site G 2) a great stone wall (Pl. XX), which can only be a defensive wall, belonging to the pre-pottery Neolithic period. The settlement of this period can thus be dignified by the title of a town. Beneath the wall was ·50 m. more of occupation material, and rock was reached at 7·40 m. from the surface.

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[5] Liverpool Annals XX and XXI.

[6] P.E.Q., 1951.

These discoveries are of outstanding importance. It has long been recognised that it was probably in the Near East that the great step forward in human evolution took place in which man ceased to live a wandering existence as a hunter and food-gatherer, and discovered the possibilities of cultivating wild plants and domesticating animals, which enabled him to settle down on one spot and thus village life began. With the development of settled life, inventions took place which were impossible while men were mere nomads. One of these inventions was that of the manufacture of pottery, among other arts and crafts which increased the comfort of man's existence. The general outline of the Neolithic revolution has been emerging as the result of archæological research of the last decades, but many of the details of the process are still obscure, and it seems probable that Jericho will do much to throw light on them. Beneath the lowest houses, Professor Garstang found the Mesolithic-type flints of the last food-gathering stage, and clearance of a wider area should provide the evidence for the transition to the settled occupation indicated by the well-built houses. During the course of the Neolithic occupation at Jericho, the manufacture of pottery appears, representing another transition about which more information is necessary. The existence of a town wall in the pre-pottery Neolithic stage is of the greatest importance, for it indicates a high degree of community organisation. All other communities in this early stage so far discovered have been mere villages, and it may be that the fertile soil of Jericho and the excellent perennial spring enabled it to outstrip other similar communities. Certainly it can claim to be the oldest town in the world in the present stage of our knowledge. Suggestions of a date of about 5000 B.C. to 4000 B.C. for this stage have hitherto been largely guess-work. But now the new Carbon 14 method of dating organic materials by radio-activity should enable a closer dating to be given. A quantity of such material was recovered from the Neolithic houses, which will in due course be submitted to examination. Neolithic Jericho has thus already made important contributions to knowledge and it is clear that still more important results may be expected.

The third aim of the Expedition was the excavation of more tombs, from which alone objects of intrinsic value are to be expected. The rich cemetery area excavated by the last expedition lay to the west of the Tell. This year, an even more extensive area was located to the north. The tombs were all of the same structural character, cut in the soft limestone on the side of shallow valleys, with a vertical shaft about 2 m. deep, opening into a round chamber about 2 m. in diameter and 1 m. high. In period, they range from the beginning of the Early Bronze Age to the end of the Middle Bronze Age. The earliest was a fine tomb of E.B.Ia, containing material closely comparable (Pl. XXI.1 and Fig. 4 1–5) with that from Ophel and Ai.[7] A very prolific tomb belonging to E.B.III contained material (Pl. XXI.2 and Fig. 4 6–11) identical with that from Professor Garstang's Tomb A.[8] These tombs, and other less important ones of the same period, all held multiple burials. The succeeding ones indicated the entirely different burial customs of the intrusive E.B.-M.B. people. The tombs, of which a considerable number was found, each held a single burial, or at the most two bodies, normally with only a dagger, of the elongated type characteristic of the period (Fig. 4 12–13), as an offering.

The richest tombs found belonged to the Middle Bronze Age, when the custom of multiple burials was again introduced. Great numbers of the fine pottery vessels, alabastra, scarabs and bronzes typical of the period were found, some of which are illustrated on Pl. XXII.1. A particularly fine vessel is shown on Pl. XXII.2. It is in the form of a bird, with a spout formed by the beak, and a small cup on the back into which the liquid was poured, and up which climbs a snake.

Such finds are the usual contents of Middle Bronze Age tombs in Palestine. But here again Jericho has a unique contribution to make. In several tombs, and in one in particular, materials have been preserved which elsewhere have perished. These included a large number of wooden platters and bowls, some of which are illustrated on Pl. XXIII.[9] One of the most attractive of the wooden vessels is carved in the form of a pomegranate, the two halves held together by minute dowels. Nearby were found the perfectly recognisable remains of real pomegranates. Other recognisable vegetables were raisins, and there is more to be identified. There were also fragments of basket work and textiles, fibre which may have come from wigs and material which may be flesh from meat offerings. Other wooden fragments are parts of furniture not yet reconstructed, and one interesting object resembles a type of bench still used by metal and leather workers (Pl. XXIII.4). Perhaps most remarkable of all was a desiccated human brain from inside a skull, with the convolutions still perfectly recognisable (Pl. XXII.3).

The 1952 excavations at Jericho have thus yielded a rich haul, both of finds and of historical information. It is proposed to carry out a second season's work in 1953, and it is hoped that sufficient financial support will be received to enable this to be on a scale worthy of the importance of the site.

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[7] *Underground Jerusalem.* H(ughes) V(incent). *Syria* XVI.

[8] *Liverpool Annals.*

[9] The thanks of the Expedition are due to Professor V. G. Childe, Director of the Institute of Archæology, for the services of the Technical Department of the Institute in the very delicate task of the restoration of these fragile objects.

The Finds

The material and the detailed records have not yet reached England, so no full publication can be attempted. A few objects are however illustrated here, in order to show the range of finds of the Early and Middle Bronze Ages during the season. The Neolithic material has not yet been sufficiently studied for publication at this stage. A full publication of this and the tomb groups will follow in due course.

Fig. 4

I. THE TOMBS

Tomb A 13. Early Bronze Age Ia. Pl. XXI.1 and fig. 4, nos. 1–5.

1. Globular pot with two lug handles, decorated in red-brown paint. Cf. Ophel, *Underground Jerusalem*, Pl. IX, 3, which has however a flattened base, and lacks the upper zone of decoration.

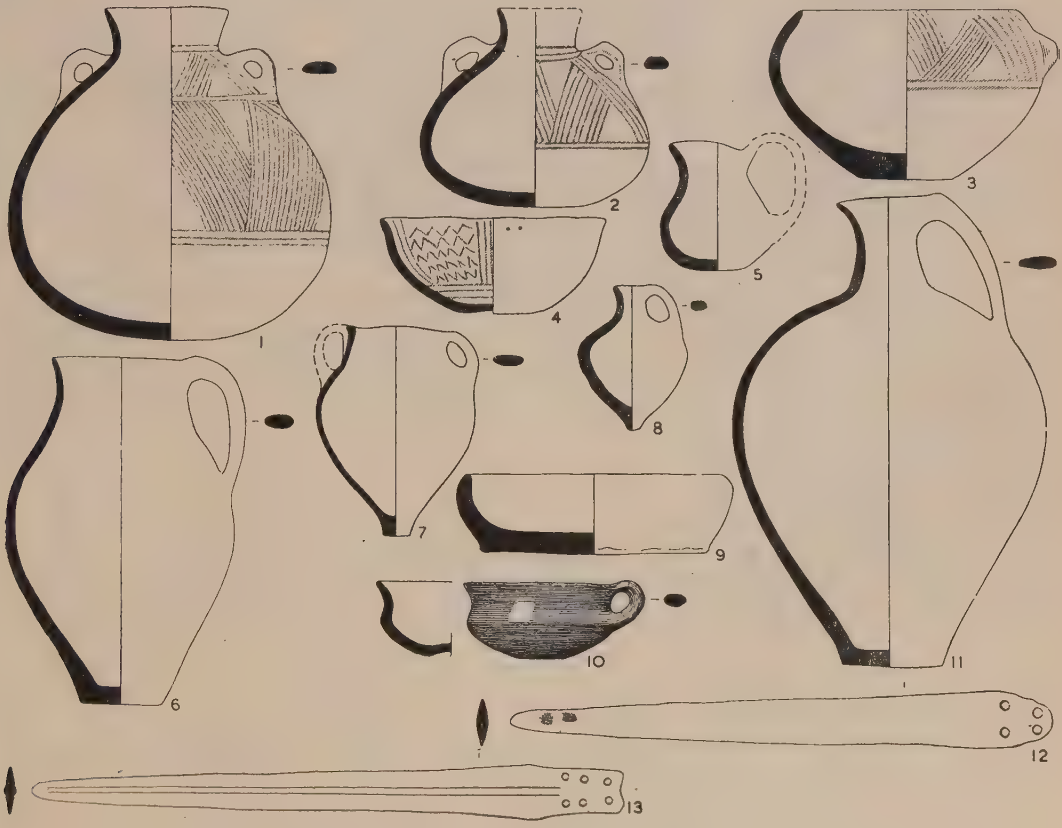

Fig. 4. Finds from Tombs A13 (1–5); F2 (6–11); A26 (12–13).

2. Small globular pot, with two lug handles, decorated in red-brown paint.
3. Bowl with knob handle, decorated with red-brown paint.
4. Shallow bowl, decorated with red-brown paint on the inside.
5. Small jug. Cf. Ai Necropolis, *Syria*, XVI, Pl. LVIII, 40, 856.

The whole range of pottery from this tomb, and the type of decoration with bands of lines arranged in alternating directions, corresponds closely with that of the Ophel Tombs and the Ai Necropolis, and the tomb can therefore be dated to E.B. Ia.

Tomb F 2. Early Bronze Age III. Pl. XXI.2 and fig. 4, nos. 6–11.

6. Jug with piriform body and narrow neck. Cf. Jericho Tomb A, *L.A.A.A.*, XIX, Pl. VIII, 16.
7. Wide-mouthed jug. Cf. Jericho, Tomb A, *ibid.*, Pl. V, 10.
8. Two-handled jar with stump base. Cf. Jericho, Tomb A, *ibid.*, Pl. XXVIII, 6.
9. Juglet with pointed base, a form very common in the tomb. Cf. Jericho, Tomb A, *ibid.*, Pl. II, 18.
10. Cup of Khirbet Kerak ware. Two other cups of the same ware occur in the tomb.
11. Platter. Cf. Jericho, Tomb A, *ibid.*, Pl. IV, 3.

The tomb was a very prolific one. The vessels can be paralleled in almost every case with examples in Tomb A, and it can thus be dated to E.B. III.

Tomb A 26. Early Bronze—Middle Bronze.

12 and 13. Two daggers, probably of copper (not yet analysed), characteristic of the E.B.–M.B. type. No. 12 has traces of pieces of cloth adhering.

Tomb A 34. Middle Bronze Age, II, Pl. XXII.1.

This group illustrates a Middle Bronze Age tomb which is typical of the majority of those excavated. One tomb corresponds to Tell Beit Mirsim E, but the majority continue as late as Tell Beit Mirsim D. None was discovered belonging to M.B.I (in the nomenclature here adopted), corresponding to Tell Beit Mirsim G–F.

ii. FINDS FROM THE TELL

Site A I. See Section fig. 3.

A selection of the sherds from the levels dating the successive walls is here published to indicate the dating evidence. Again, the description of the sherds is not yet available, and full publication will follow in due course.

Fig. 5

a. Levels beneath the foundations of 1st Wall

1. Hole-mouth jar, rim swollen, with external ridge. Cf. *Megiddo Stages*,[10] Type 12 H, J, K, Stages V–IV, E.B. 1b.

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[10] *Notes on the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age Pottery of Megiddo* R. M. Engberg and G. M. Shipton, S.A.O.C., 10.

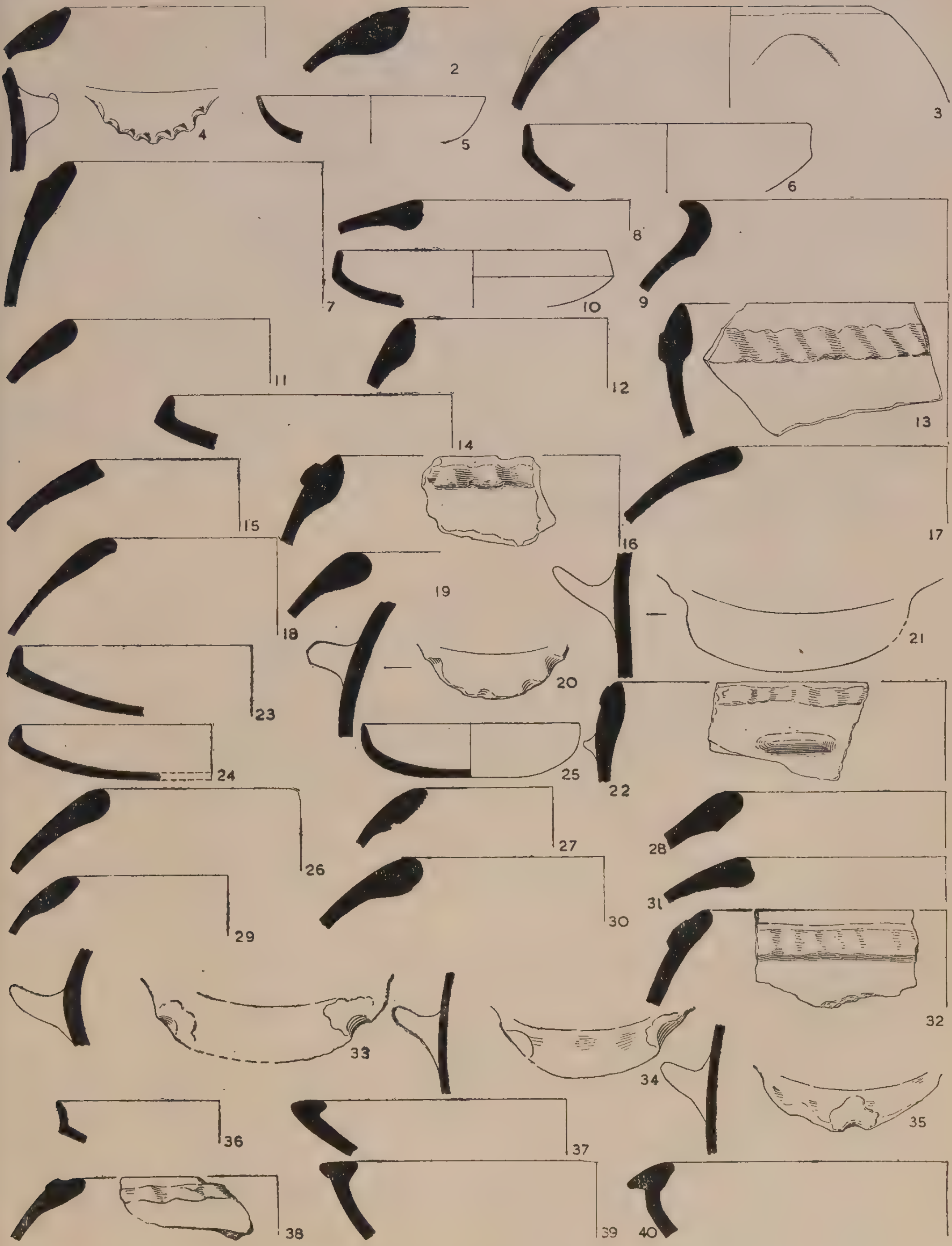
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Fig. 5. Selected sherds from Site A 1.

2. Hole-mouth jar, rim more swollen, with external ridge. Internal diameter of rim c. 18 cm. Cf. *M. Stages*, Type 12 J, Stages V–IV, E.B.1 b.
3. Hole-mouth jar, rim square-cut. Cf. *M. Stages* Stages IV–I, Type 12 A, Stages IV–I, E.B. 1b–III.
4. Ledge-handle, thumb-indented. Cf. *M. Stages* Type 14 G, Stages VII–IV.
5. Bowl with gently curved sides, red slip out and band below rim inside. Cf. *M. Stages* Type 20 A, Stages VII–IV, E.B. 1a–1b.
6. Carinated bowl, red burnished out, finely made. Cf. Ai Necropolis, *Syria* XVI, Pl. LVIII, 9, 378, E.B. 1a ; *M. Stages* Type 22 b, Stages V–IV, E.B. 1b.

b. Collapse of 1st Wall

7. Hole-mouth jar, vestigial applied band below rim externally.
8. Hole-mouth jar, rim inclined well in.
9. Jar rim, short neck, out-curved rim.
10. Carinated bowl. Cf. No. 6 above.

c. Construction of 2nd Wall

11. Hole-mouth jar, fairly thin rim. Cf. *M. Stages*, Type 12 D, Stages VII–III.
12. Hole-mouth jar, rim swollen.
13. Hole-mouth bowl, applied band below rim. Hole-mouth bowls, and also the use of applied bands, range at Megiddo from Stages VII to IV.
14. Bowl with inverted rim (presumably developed from the carinated type, nos. 6 and 10). Cf. *M. Stages* Type 22 A, Stage II, E.B. III.

d. Occupation immediately above surface belonging to 2nd Wall

15. Hole-mouth jar, rim square-cut. Cf. *M. Stages*, Type 12 D, Stages IV–I, E.B. 1b–III.
16. Hole-mouth jar, applied band below rim ; 2 examples.
17. Hole-mouth jar.
18. Hole-mouth jar.
19. Hole-mouth jar, diameter uncertain.
20. Ledge-handle, slightly wavy. Cf. *M. Stages* Type 14 H, Stages VII–IV, E.B. 1a–1b.
21. Ledge-handle, plain ; 4 examples. Cf. *M. Stages* Type 14 E, Stages V–VIII, E.B. 1b–II.
22. Hole-mouth bowl with applied wavy band and small plain ledge-handle.
23. Bowl with inverted rim, cf. no. 14.
24. Bowl with short inverted rim.
25. Shallow bowl, base slightly flattened.

e. Upper midden accumulation against 2nd Wall

26 to 32. Hole-mouth jar fragments were very common in this level. The majority have thin rims. Those illustrated are a small selection.
33 to 35. Ledge-handles with one or two thumb-indentations.
36. Carinated bowl, wall slightly concave.
37. Bowl with rim sharply inverted, flat on top.
38. Hole-mouth jar with applied band.
39. Bowl with flat rim, projecting in and out.
40. Bowl or platter with thickened rim, projecting in and out.

Fig. 6

f. Construction of 3rd Wall

1 to 4. Hole-mouth jars.
5. Hole-mouth bowl with applied band below rim.
6. Jar or jug with high, flaring neck.
7. Inverted rim bowl, with thickening below carination, angles somewhat rounded.
8. Bowl with flattened rim, projecting in and out.
9. Shallow bowl.

g. Midden accumulation against 3rd Wall

10 to 13. Hole-mouth jars.
14. Bowl with inverted rim, lip and carination somewhat rounded, slight hollow below carination.
15. Bowl or platter with rim inverted flatly, diameter uncertain. Cf. Ai Sanctuary, *Syria*, XVI, Pl. LVI, 7, 1531, E.B.III.
16. Bowl or platter with flat rim projecting internally.

h. Level of collapsed brick

17 to 22. Hole-mouth jars, selection from large number.
23. Bowl or platter with flat rim projecting internally.
24. Platter with rim projecting sharply inwards.

j. Layers of heavily burnt material

25 to 30. Hole-mouth jars, selection from large number.
31. Platter with flat rim, projecting in and out. Cf. Ai Sanctuary, *Syria*, XVI, Pl. LVI, 2, 1478, E.B.III.
32. Bowl with inverted rim.
33. Bowl with inverted rim, inclined downwards.
34 and 35. Bowls with curved walls.

Trench I, see section fig. 2
Early Bronze—Middle Bronze Pottery from the fill of the 1st Middle Bronze Age Glacis

These sherds are a selection from the great quantity of E.B.–M.B. pottery in this fill. The M.B. sherds from the same deposit, which are much fewer

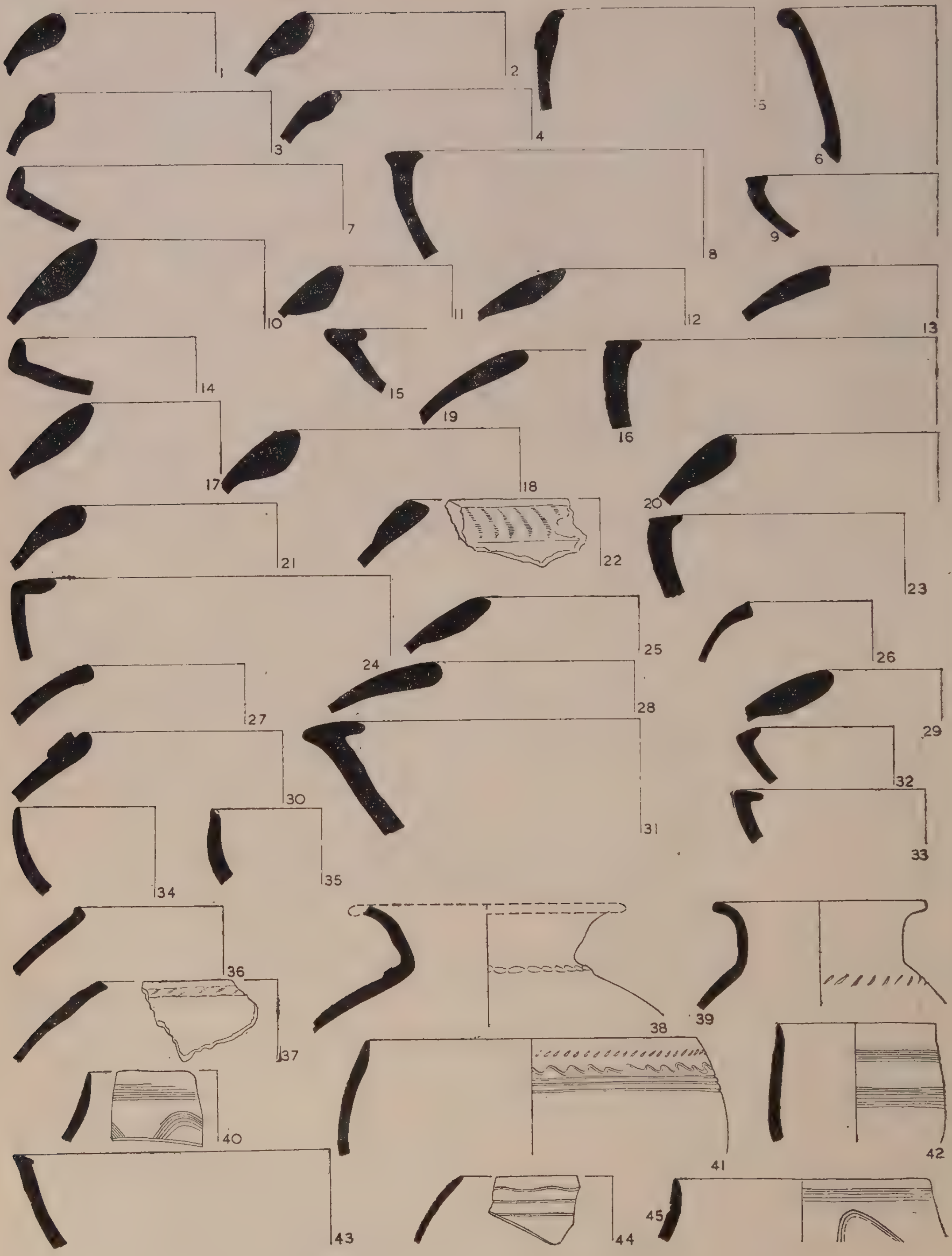
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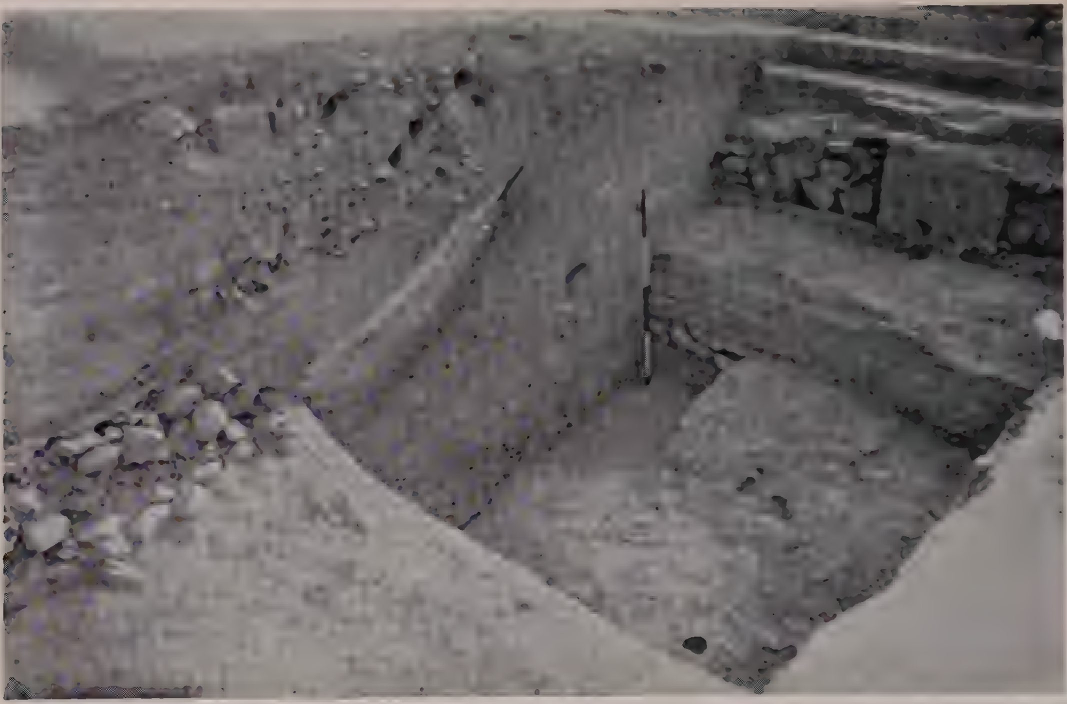
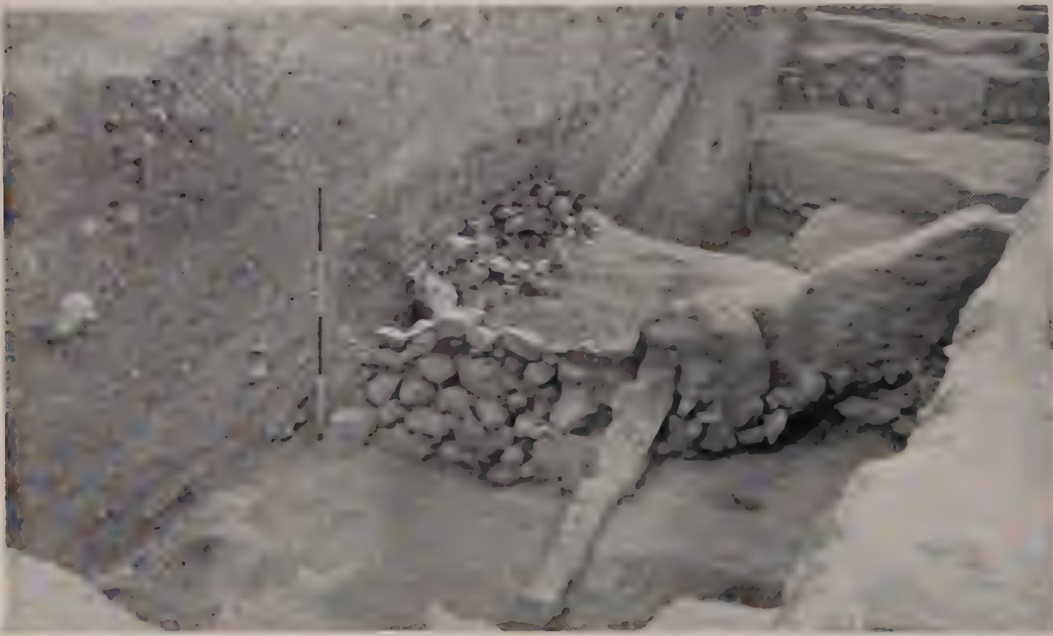
Fig. 6. Selected sherds from Site A 1 (1–35) and Trench I (36–45).

1. The Tell of Jericho from the west; the Jordan Valley and the mountains of Transjordan in the background.

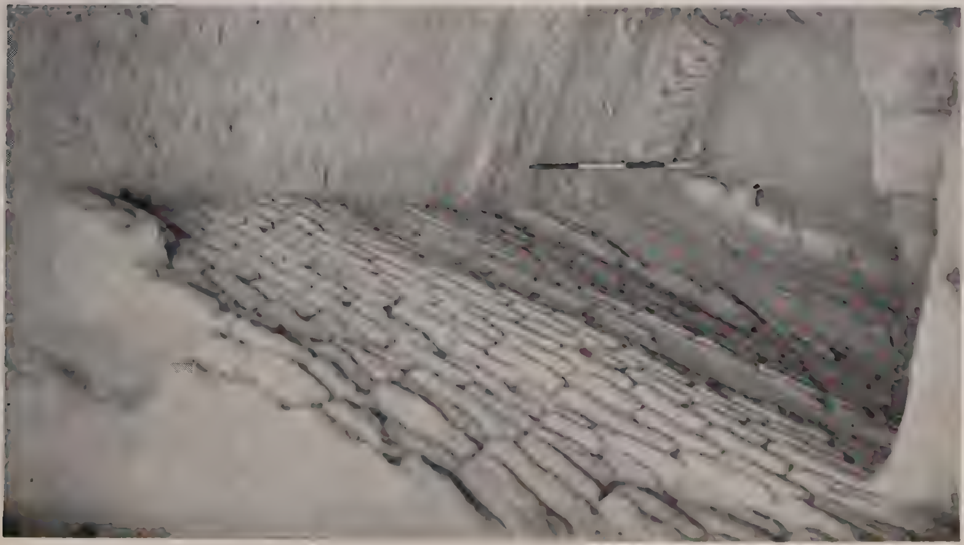
2. Looking west from the Tell, towards the Mountain of Temptation.



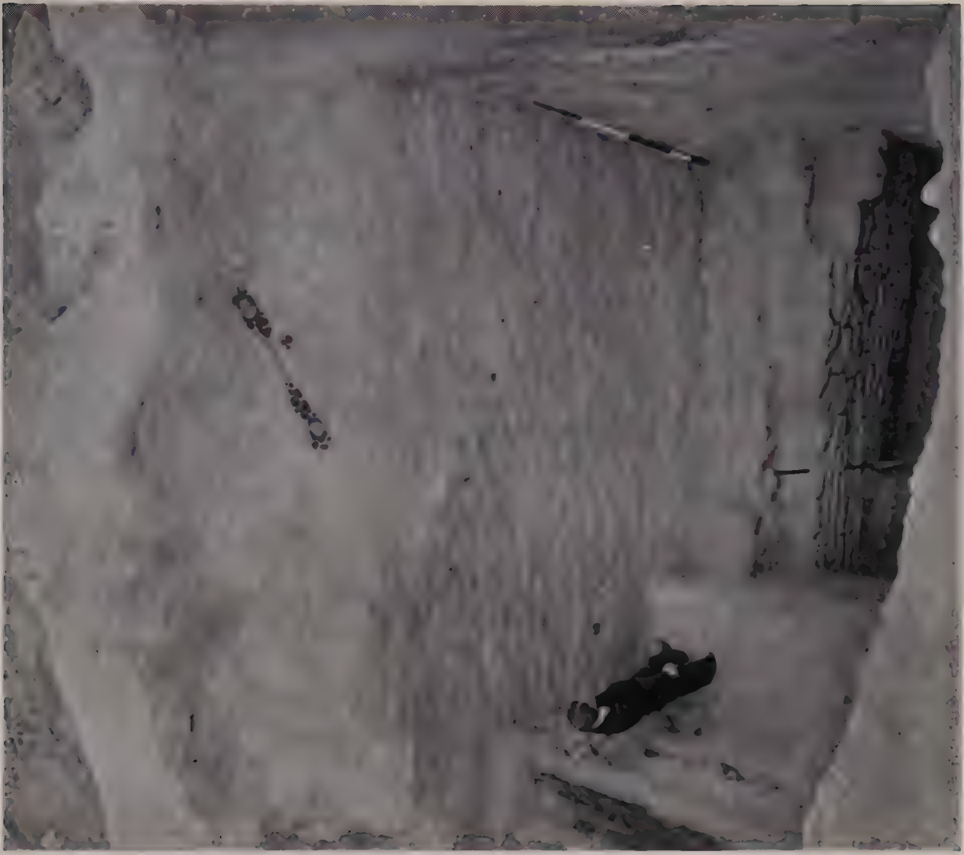
1. Trench I : in foreground, Wall 7, resting on Wall 6, with burnt layer running up to it : in background, Walls 3 and 4.



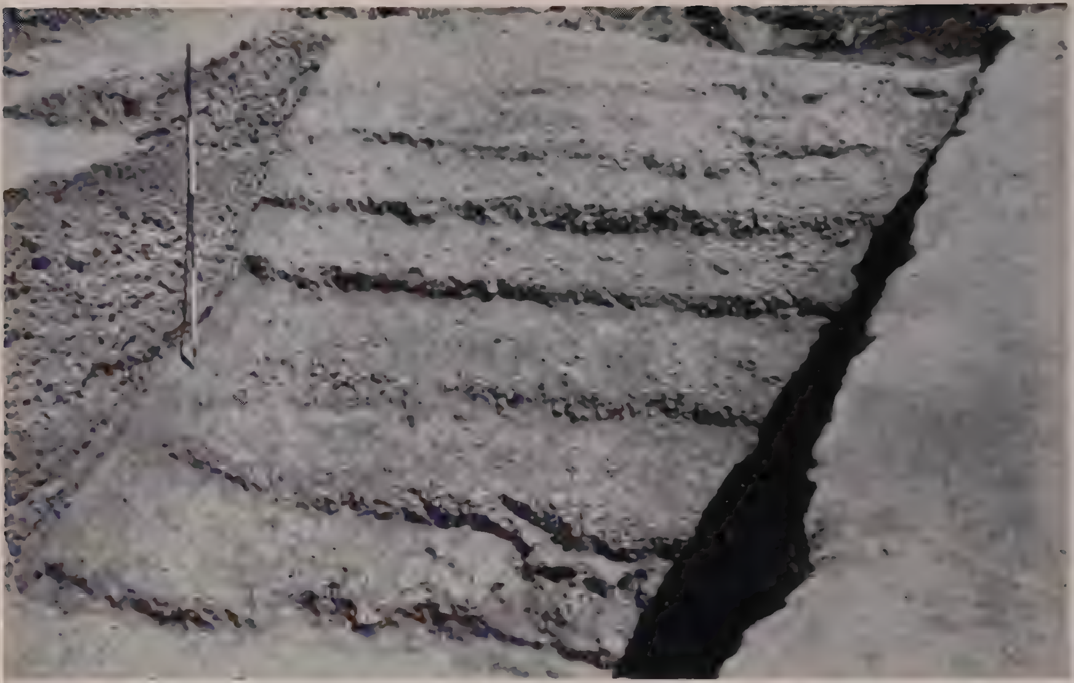
2. Trench I ; E.B.–M.B. structure against Wall 7.



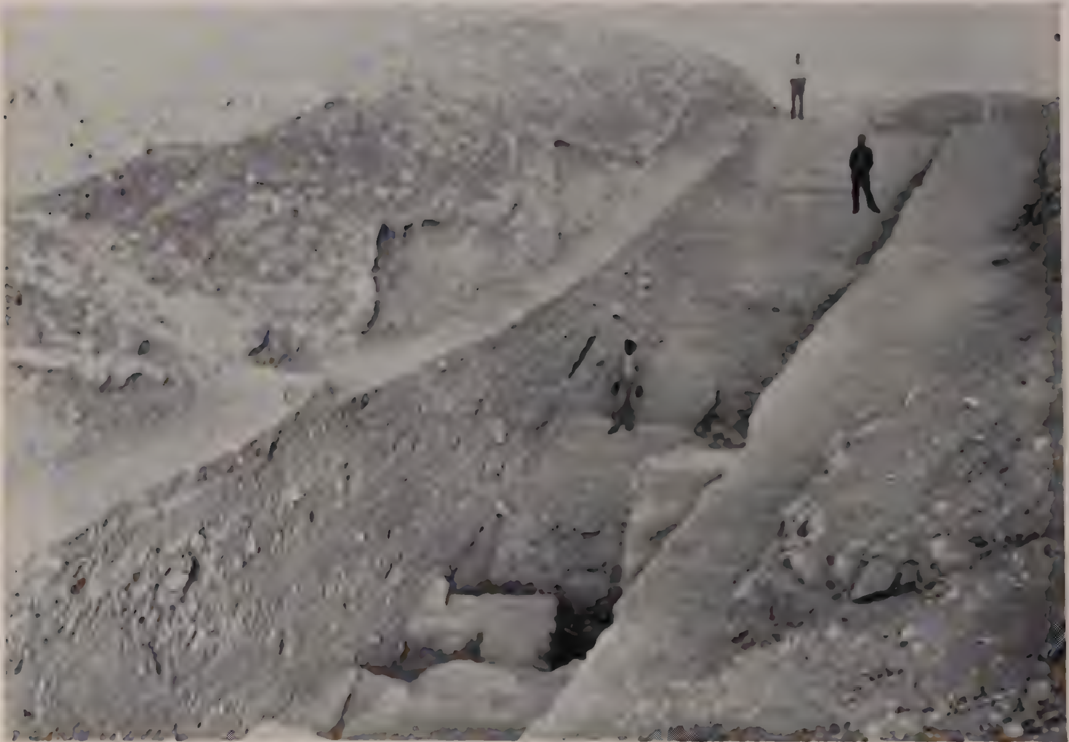
1. Collapsed 1st Wall at base, 2nd Wall on left.



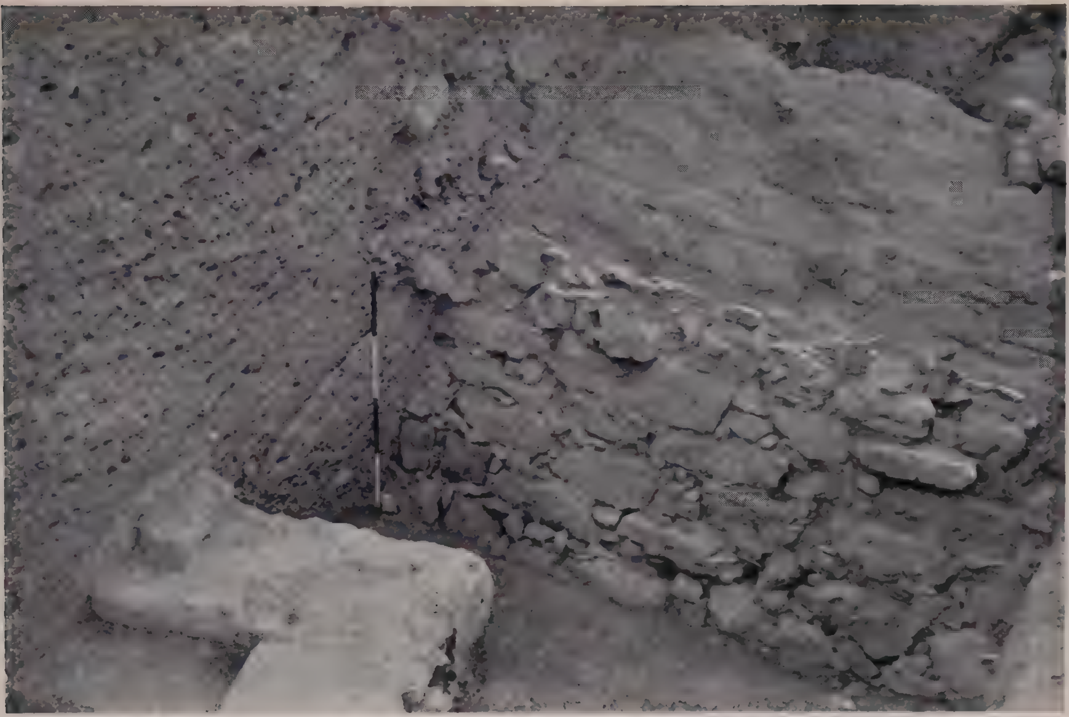
2. Site A 1 : 3rd Wall built on top of 2nd Wall.



1. Plastered surface of 1st M.B. glacis

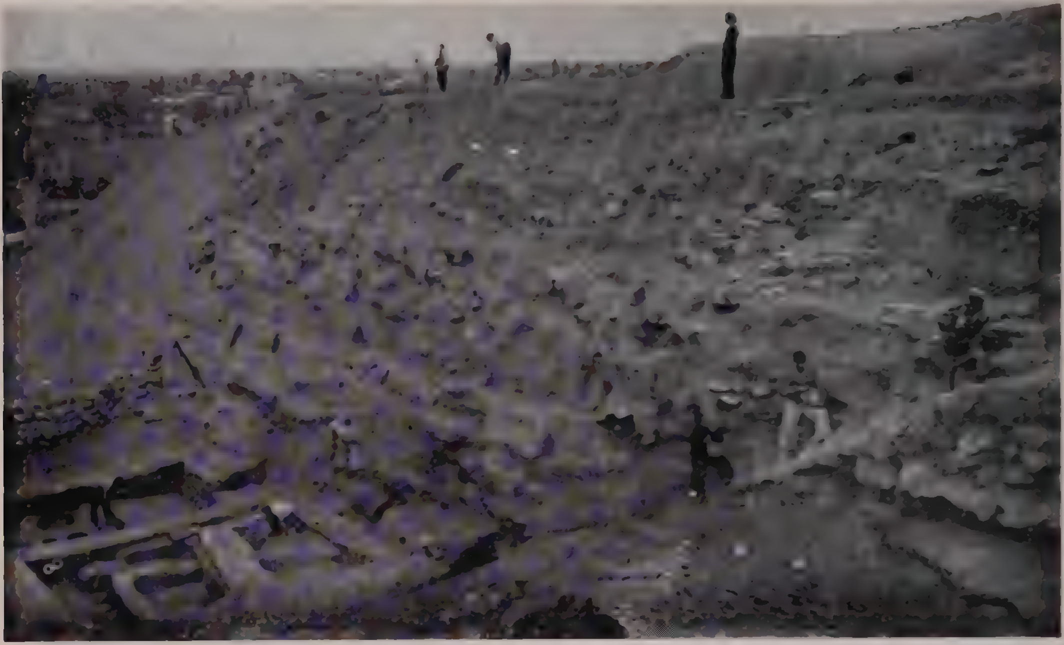


2. Trench 1: general view; the figures stand on the three successive M.B. defences.

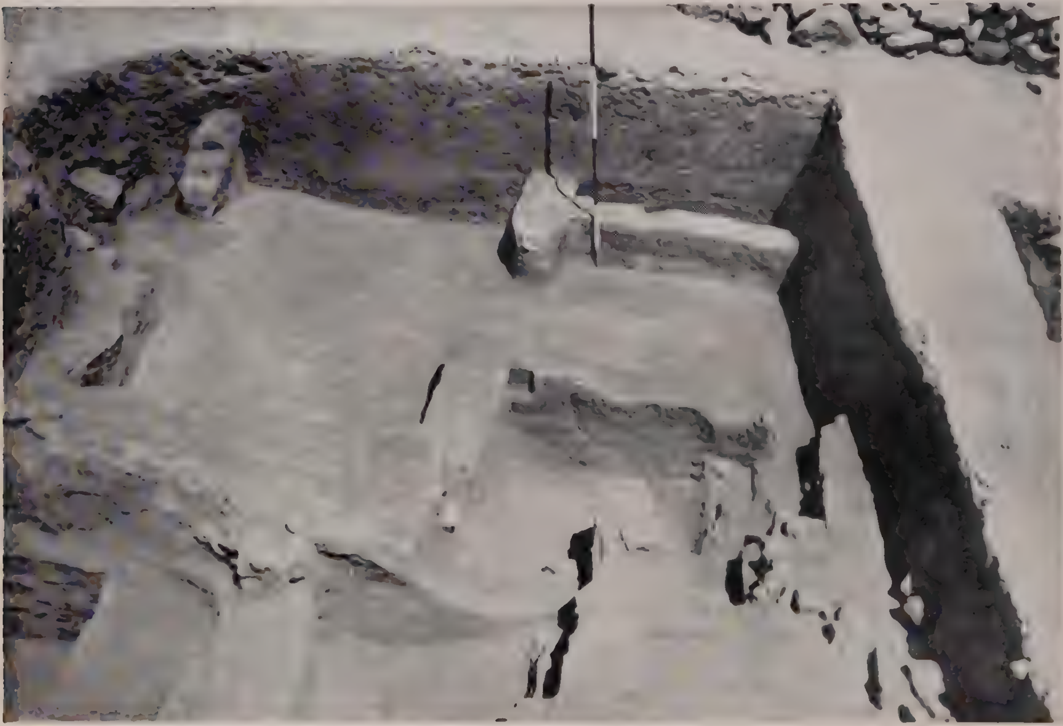


1. Trench 1 : top of stone revetment of fosse ; in foreground, Iron Age building.

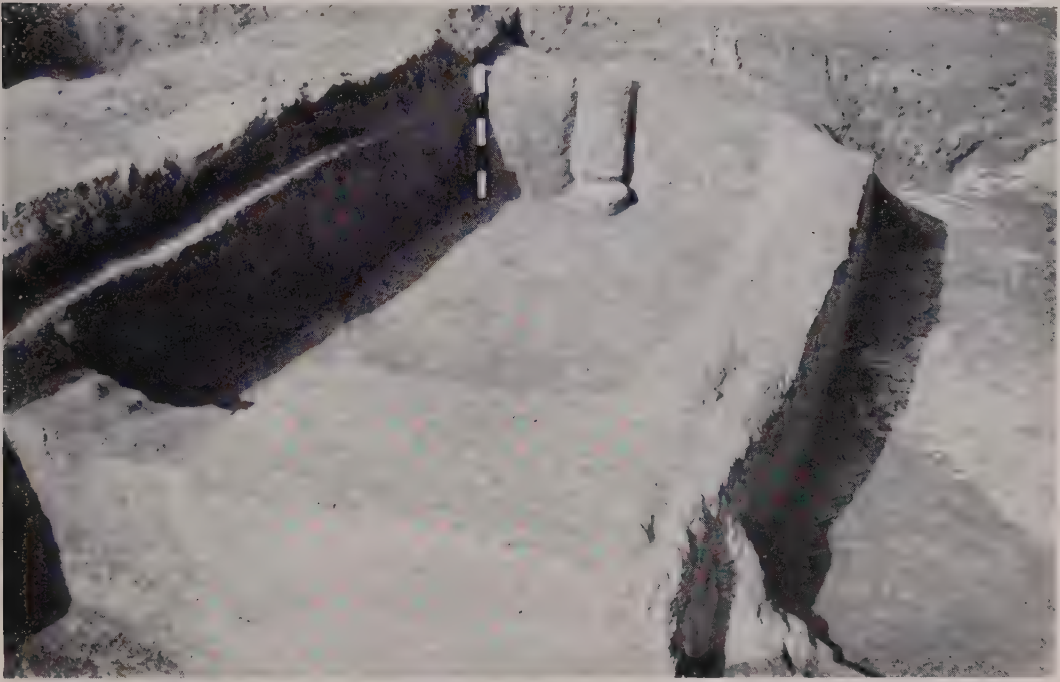
2. Site D 1 : E.B. round house.



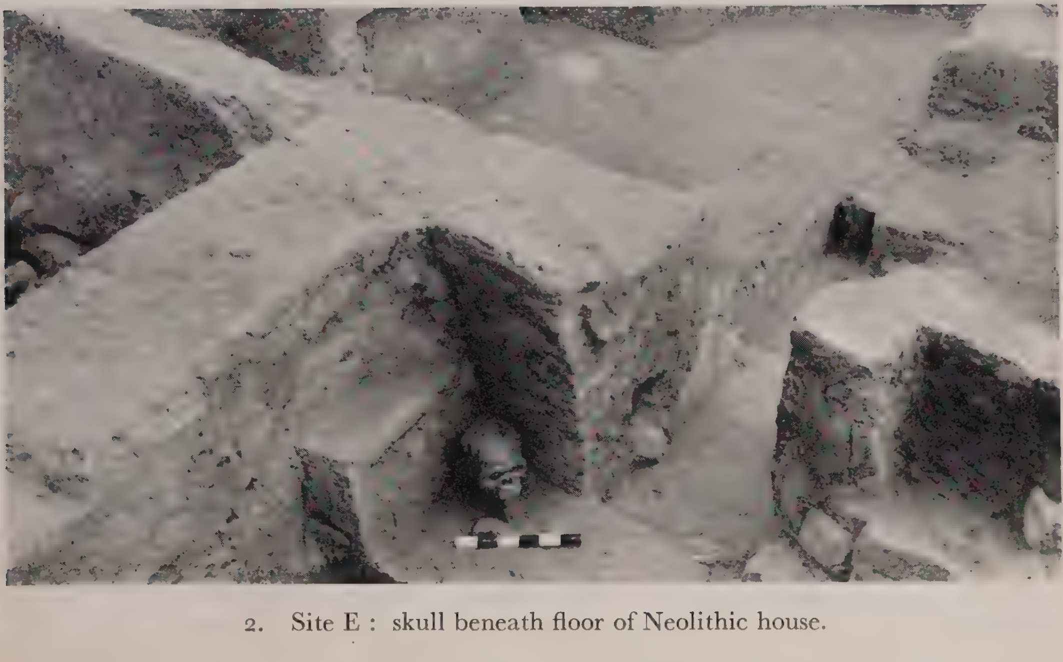
1. Site E : deep trench of previous excavations.



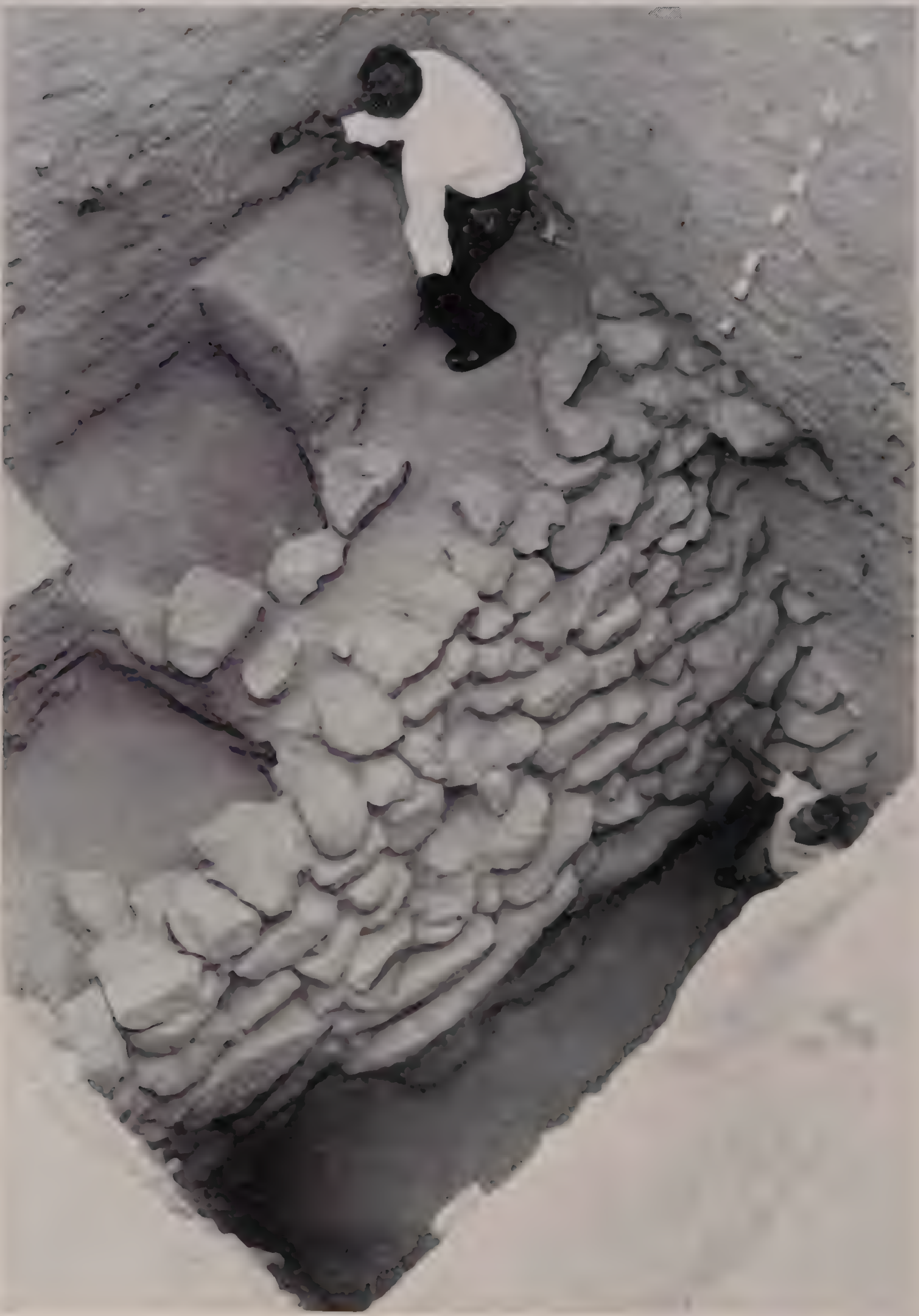
2. Site E : Neolithic house.



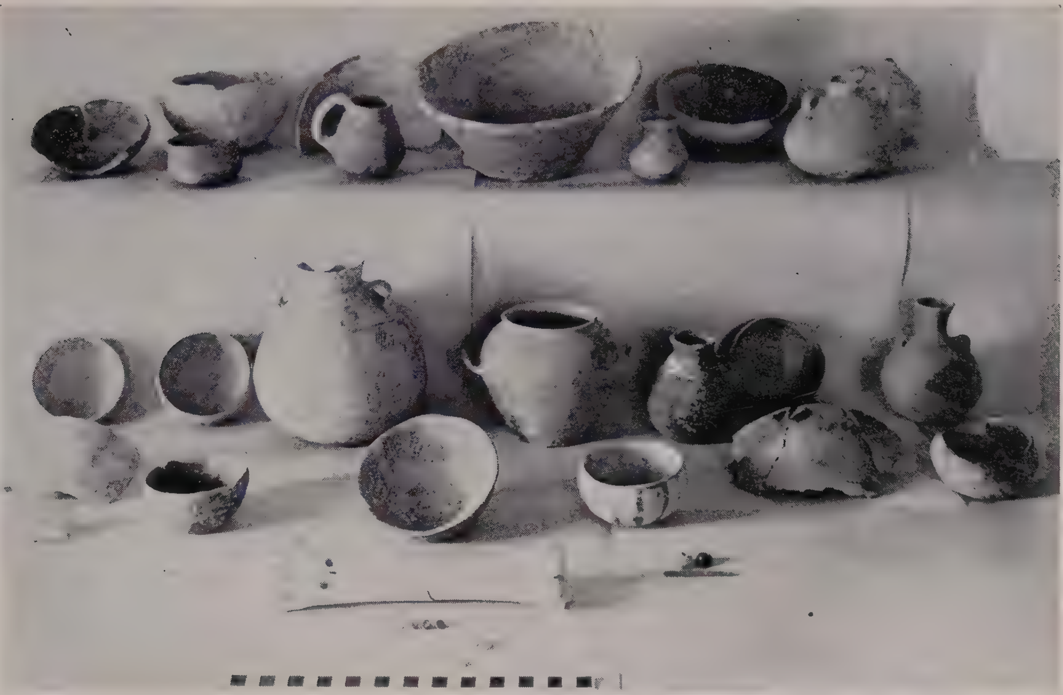
1. Site E : Neolithic shrine.



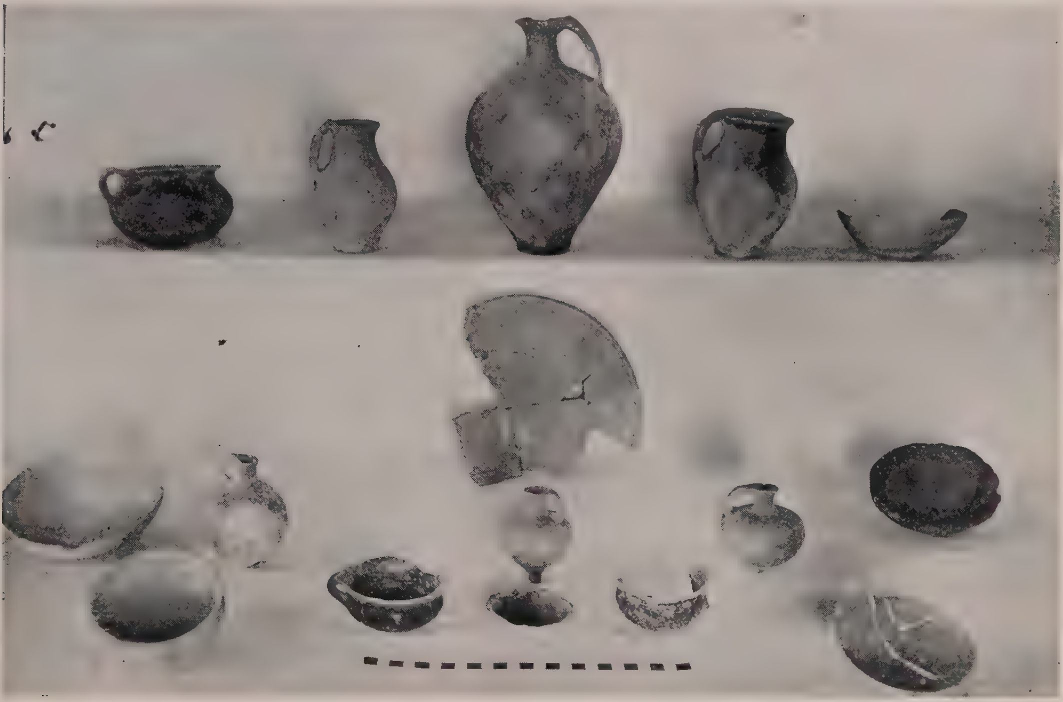
2. Site E : skull beneath floor of Neolithic house.



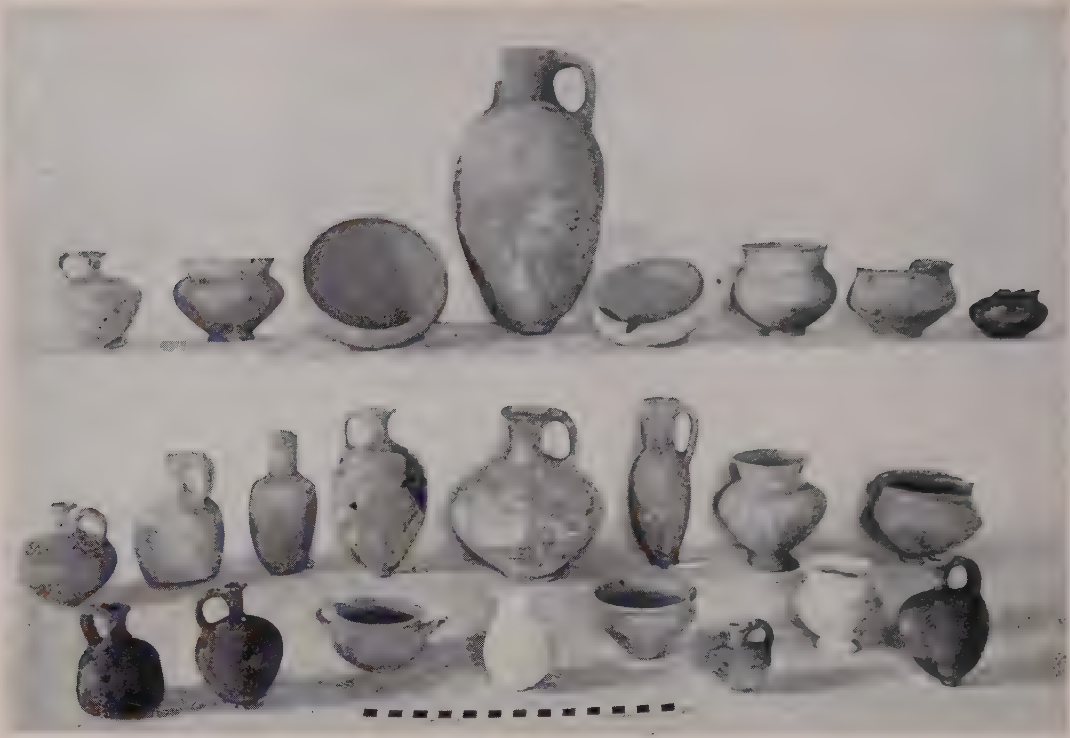
Site G : Neolithic town wall.



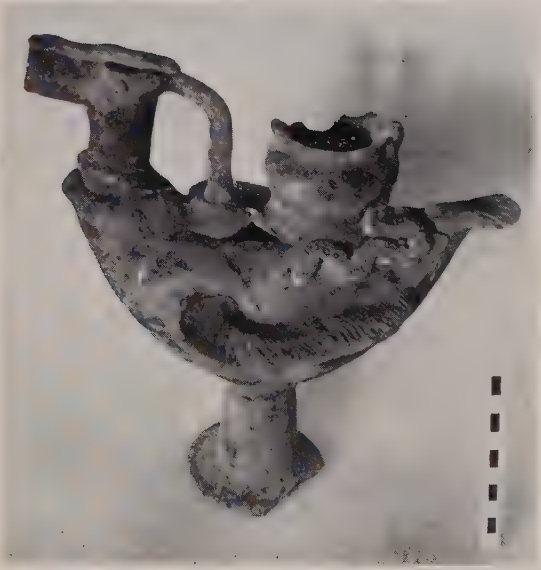
1. Pottery from Tomb A 13.

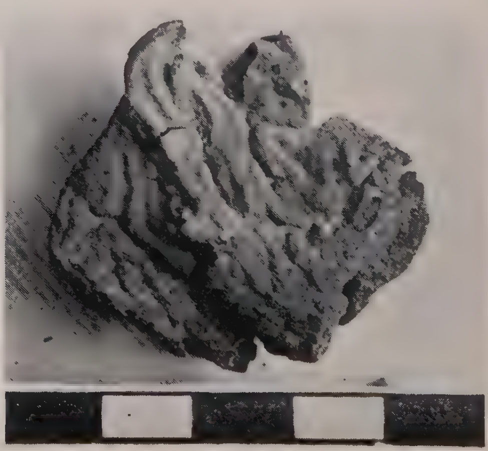


2. Selected pottery from Tomb F 2.



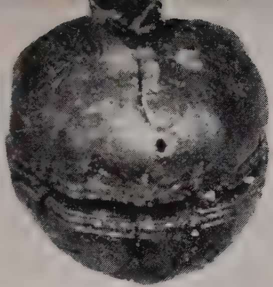
1. Selected pottery from Tomb A 34.



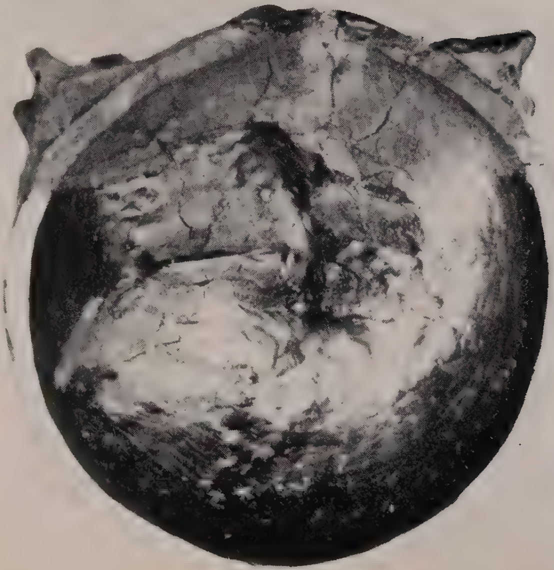


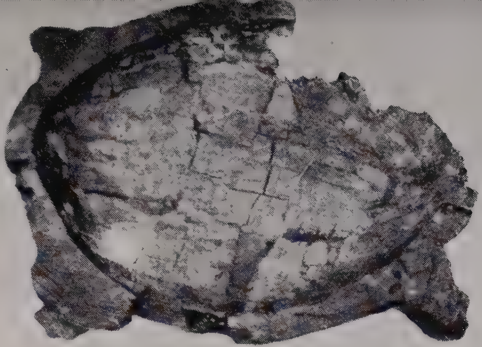
3. Desiccated human brain from Tomb B 35. *Scale in centimetres.*

2. Bird vessel from Tomb B 35.

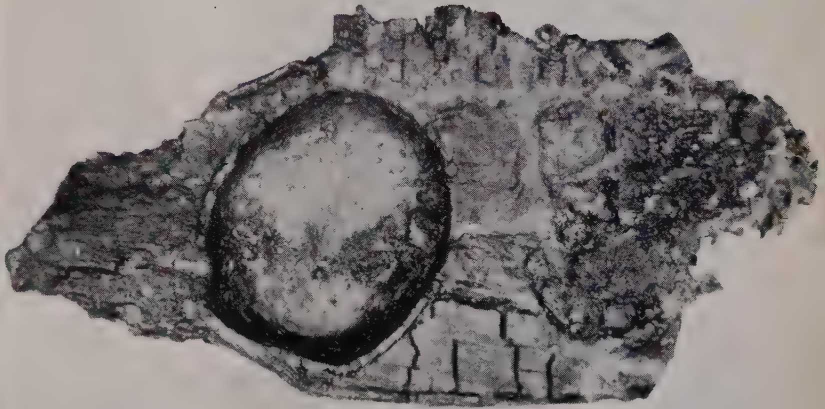


1. Wooden pomegranate from Tomb B 35. 1/1





2. Wooden bowl from Tomb B 35. 1/1



in number, have not yet been studied. The E.B.–M.B. sherds are presumably derived from the underlying levels, the excavation of which has only just been begun.

The ware is thin and hard, of a gritty paste and mainly light buff in colour. The majority are hand-made, but some of the jar necks may have been turned on a slow wheel. The decoration is in incised lines or stabs. The majority of the forms are closely paralleled in Tell Beit Mirsim Level H (*A.A.S.O.R.* XIII).

36. Hole-mouth jar with slightly everted lip.
37. Hole-mouth jar with thin, narrow applied band.
38. Storage jar rim with flaring neck, of which many examples were found ; decorated with applied band with finger-tip impressions.
39. Storage jar with more upright neck, decorated with slashes at the base of the neck, a very common form of decoration.
40. Bowl decorated with combination of horizontal and wavy lines.
41. Bowl decorated with stabs, a single wavy and triple horizontal lines.
42. Cup decorated with horizontal lines.
43. Platter with inverted lip.
44. Bowl decorated with wavy, horizontal and oblique lines.
45. Bowl decorated with horizontal and wavy lines.

Dating evidence of the pottery from Site A 1

The amount of pottery associated with the Early Bronze Age city wall which has so far been examined is insufficient for the successive walls to be dated with any great confidence. It would, however, appear that in the groups from Site A 1 there is no stratified material as early as that from Tomb A 13 (fig. 4, 1–5), dated to E.B. 1a. There are, however, in the levels preceeding the 1st Wall (Group *a*), forms which correspond to Megiddo Stages VII to IV, for instance, the bowl, fig. 5, 5, and the ledge-handle, fig. 5, 4. The hole-mouth jars with external ridge would, on the Megiddo evidence, confirm an E.B. 1b date as against E.B. 1a, for they are confined to Stages V–IV.

The dating of the succeeding levels is more difficult, since at Megiddo, apart from the big distinction between the earlier and later Stages, with an overlap at IV, there is little differentiation, at any rate in the somewhat schematic publication, in the later material The most important type which dates Stage III to E.B. 11, that of the metallic-ware vessels, has so far not appeared at Jericho. It does, however, seem that Group *d*, the occupation immediately above the constructional level of the 2nd Wall, should not be later than Megiddo Stage III, E.B. 11, for it includes a plain ledge handle.

The material does, however, show development of forms, and when excavation has been carried further, these should enable a closer dating to be made. The shallow bowl with a sharp angle is an example of this. In Groups *a* and *b* (fig. 5, 6 and 10), it has a short, nearly upright wall. In

Group *c*, this has developed into a short inverted rim, somewhat triangular in section. This is common in all levels down to Group *e*, the upper midden accumulation against the 2nd Wall. In groups *f* and *g*, the angle and lip become more rounded, and there is a distinct hollow beneath the angle. The type does not appear in the later levels. Another point of probable significance is the appearance in Group *e* of the bowls and platters with flat-topped and thickened rims, which presumably correspond to Megiddo Types I B and D, though none exactly like the illustration has been found. Fig. 6, 31, from Group *j*, the upper burnt material, is very close to a bowl from the E.B. III. material at Ai.

The somewhat scanty dating evidence, therefore, suggests that the 1st Wall was built in or after E.B. 1b, that the 2nd Wall may be E.B. II, and that the latest wall was destroyed in E.B. III. Confirmation from more material is, however needed for firm datings.

JERUSALEM IN THE FOURTH CENTURY

A lecture delivered to the Palestine Exploration Fund
on January 31, 1952, by

R. W. HAMILTON

MY subject touches on matters which have so often been discussed in these rooms that a word of justification is perhaps needed for reverting to it.

The fact is that we are at the end of an epoch in the exploration of Palestine; and it may not be amiss to take stock, at this stage, of the present state of some of the old, familiar problems, of which the topography of early Christian Jerusalem is one.

The first thought which comes to my mind, in this connection, is how few, really, are the problems concerning Jerusalem in New Testament times that have, after 30 years of fairly intensive archæological activity, been resolved by any new and decisive archæological facts.

Some new knowledge has, certainly, been acquired, and should be mentioned. The skilful work of Mr. C. N. Johns in the citadel, for example, has established with certainty the position and character of the north-west corner of the Maccabæan-Herodian city wall, and has fixed, by precise stratigraphy, the dates of its successive reconstructions.

Excavations by the Fund itself, and, at different times, by the former Department of Antiquities have exposed at several points that arterial street, seen in the Madeba map, which traversed the city from north to south along the Tyropoeon valley.

Again, soundings against the present north wall and in the Citadel have established the Herodian origins, though not perhaps the original purpose, of the Damascus gate ; and have demonstrated that the present north wall of the city, at any rate in its eastern half, belongs to a system of fortification which started at the Tower of David and must have been built about the time of Constantine, or perhaps a little earlier.

Then there is the enigmatic wall line followed by Mayer and Sukenik in the Bab es Sahira region. The attribution of this structure to Agrippa rests mainly on comparison with a passage in Josephus's Jewish War (Book V, Ch: iv). Strictly archæological evidence, either for the date or for the purpose of the structure, is rather scanty : so far as I remember, no stratified accumulations containing coins or potsherds or other datable objects have been reported in association with the structure. The somewhat heterogeneous remains, while corresponding well enough with the course of what Josephus calls the " third wall," hardly do so with its character as described also by Josephus. On present evidence we must regard the identification as possible but not fully proven.

That about exhausts the more recent contributions of archæology to the topography of Jerusalem in the early centuries. For many vital problems, like that of Golgotha, we must still rely on the same literary sources that were available to our predecessors in the nineteenth century.

Amongst those sources the one which stands out, to my mind, as most authoritative is the description of Jerusalem given in the Bordeaux Pilgrim's Guide of A.D. 333. The writer of this guide saw Jerusalem at a crucial moment: the process of architectural expansion, which was to culminate in the fifth and sixth centuries, had hardly begun; and the various extraneous motives tending towards a multiplication of Holy Sites, and towards the obscuring of genuinely ancient traditions, were only just beginning to operate; it was the last possible moment for the authentic pre-Constantinian aspect of Jerusalem to be put on record.

The economy in words of the Bordeaux Guide, and still more its economy in subject matter, carry the stamp of a primitive tradition not yet inflated by the curiosity of Pilgrims or the growing opulence of ecclesiastical foundations. The Bordeaux Guide is consequently the fundamental source for the early topography of Aelia, and for the earliest Christian tradition.

The itinerary given for Jerusalem, closely linked with the physical topography, is clearly based on an actual walk through the city, beginning outside the wall on the east (*ad latus Templi*) and entering the city by a gate corresponding to the present St. Stephen's Gate. This is still the only entry into Jerusalem from the east side—fixed by the presence of that tributary gully of the Kedron valley which forms the natural northern boundary of the Temple area. The importance of this eastern thoroughfare in the Roman city is still marked by the remains of the triple arch, known as the Ecce Homo arch, of which the central bay spans the modern street.

The first feature to be met with on this street is described in words, which closely echo St. John V, i, as '*piscinae gemellares quinque porticus habentes*', "Twin pools having five porticoes." The wording may suggest a doubt whether the writer was recording his own observations, or merely quoting scripture. But Eusebius, in his slightly earlier *Onomasticon*, confirms that the pools still existed in his time and collected water. Probably the porticoes were in ruins then, because Eusebius assigns them to an earlier period—τὸ παλαιόν; but traces of them may have remained, for St. Cyril in his *Homily on the Paralytic*, about the middle of the century, explains how four of the porticoes, or colonnades, skirted the pool, while the fifth divided it in the middle; and that sounds very much like a correct archæological observation. The pools are now deeply buried, but their existence and their situation have been established by excavations in the property of the White Fathers at St. Anne's; furthermore, the remains that have been observed tend to confirm that the pools were already ancient when seen by the author of the Guide.

From the Double Pool the Pilgrim turned left across the Temple hill, which was then derelict but displayed various features of minor interest within the gigantic remains of the Herodian terminus wall.

Incidentally, the excavations which took place during the recent reconstruction of the Aqsa mosque, failed to reveal a single stone of recognizably Jewish origin, and thus confirmed, so far as they went, the utter destruction of that part of the Temple colonnades which lay directly within the southern wall of the enclosure. The same excavations demonstrated again the error of the old belief (which may still be read in the older standard works) that parts of the Aqsa mosque are of Christian origin.

Descending diagonally from the Temple area the Pilgrim joined the Valley street, whose pavement, or rather successive pavements, have been exposed more than once in recent years, when some mishap to the drains has required the Roman sewer—still the one we use—to be repaired or enlarged. The street led down hill and out of the city—and that was also the way suggested by the Guide of going up Sion, which in the fourth century apparently lay outside the town wall. Just outside the wall, which must have crossed the valley rather lower down than the present Dung Gate, lay the pool called Siloam, having four colonnades. No church is mentioned, for it was not until the fifth century that the church discovered by Bliss and Dickie in the 1890's came to be built.

The Pool of Siloam was celebrated in early Christian tradition chiefly for its connection with the healing of the blind man, told in St. John, Ch: IX; also for its sabbatarian habits. Six days and nights (the Guide tells us) the spring flowed; but the seventh was the sabbath and then for a whole day and night it stopped. St. Jerome states simply that it flowed at certain times on certain days, accompanied then by loud rumblings. It is curious that neither St. Jerome nor any other of the Christian writers seems to have realized that the stream which filled the pool had anything to do with Hezekiah's famous conduit.

From Siloam the Guide took the pilgrim up Sion, following a path which must have skirted the wall on the outside. To all Christian writers, of course, Mount Sion meant the western hill, to which, I suppose, the name had been attracted by the popular attribution to King David of the gigantic remains of Herod's fortress incorporated in the Roman legionary camp.

The Guide names three places of interest on Mount Sion; two of them inside, and one outside, the wall. Outside the wall there appeared "a place where the house of Caiaphas had stood", in a ruin containing a column "*in qua Christum flagellis ceciderunt.*" No mention of a church; although St. Paula at the end of the century found what we may presume to have been the same column already incorporated in a church, which other writers add was dedicated to St. Peter.

The two monuments within the wall—or rather within what the Guide specifies as "*murum Sion*", were the Palace of David and a synagogue, the last survivor of seven which had formerly existed.

The only one of these monuments which can still be located is, of course, the Palace of David, of which the Tower of David in the present citadel is the most conspicuous remnant, having retained its heroic character, in Saracenic and Crusader tradition, throughout the Middle Ages. Recent excavations at the base of the Tower have shown that it stands on the north-west corner of the Maccabæan city wall, and was built at a time when the western part of Jerusalem extended no further north than the present David Street. Within the corner the excavations have exposed remains of buildings which contain pipes and tiles of the Xth Legion, and so confirm Josephus's statement that Titus preserved Herod's great towers, and part of the wall which enclosed the western quarter of the city, to " afford a camp " for the garrison.

When the Bordeaux Itinerary speaks of the " wall of Sion " it must refer to the wall of the legionary camp, incorporating stretches of the old Jewish wall in its northern and western sides. The northern line still existed as " the wall of Sion " in the seventh century A.D., when Arculfus described it as starting from David's Gate, and traversing the brow of Sion; ' *quod a meridie supereminet civitati.*' Today, only a glimpse of this wall can be seen at one point; but in 1862 a section of it was exposed when the old Mission House of the London Jews Society was built. The unseen parts of the wall presumably underlie the higher ground, along the south side of David's street, which still overlooks, as in Arculfus' day, the northern parts of the city.

The next part of the tour is introduced by the phrase : ' *inde ut eas foris murum de Sion euntibus ad portam Neapolitanam* ' : that is, for the first time the traveller faced north, with Mount Sion behind him.

On his right, then, the ground sloped downwards towards the central valley; and somewhere down there, *deorsum in valle*, were the ruins of Pilate's Praetorium. This is one of the few monuments mentioned by the Guide which has since vanished; leaving on its site, where it was linked in the fifth century with a Church dedicated to Holy Wisdom, not a trace in medieval tradition. That tradition looked for the Praetorium elsewhere.

On the left hand, presumably about opposite the Praetorium, there stood the ' *monticulus* ' of Golgotha, ' *unde, quasi ad lapidis missum, est crypta ubi corpus eius positum fuit.*' " There," says the Guide, " a basilica has lately been built by order of the Emperor Constantine."

It is clear that the Pilgrim was at that point standing in the second principal north-south artery of Jerusalem, the columned street (identical with the present Khan ez Zeit), shown in the Madeba map diverging from the valley street, just inside the Nablus Gate.

The rest of the city lying to the north had no special interest for the Guide—and he ignores it. The Itinerary ends by passing out again through the eastern gate, across the valley of Jehoshaphat with its vineyards and minor monuments ; and finally ascending the Mount of Olives, where the second of Constantine's great churches commemorated the spot where the Lord had taught the disciples before the Passion. Near by was another '*monticulus*' connected, oddly enough, not with the Ascension but with the Transfiguration.

This brief and factual account of Jerusalem, written about A.D. 333, is the nearest we can hope to get to the cycle of popular tradition current at the moment when Christian topographical lore was for the first time receiving public and architectural recognition.

Half a century later it is supplemented by the Pilgrimage attributed to Aetheria, of which the chief interest lies in its descriptions of the daily and festal services of the church, revolving round three principal centres: the sites of Golgotha and the Sepulchre; the Mount of Olives; and Mount Sion. Of these three sites the greatest historical interest, and the most difficult archæological problems, relate (*a*) to Golgotha and the Sepulchre, and (*b*) to Sion.

Tradition has always placed on Mount Sion the Cenaculum, or room of the Last Supper, and the place of assembly of the earliest Christian congregation. I imagine that few archæological discoveries could be more pleasing than one which gave evidence of the building first used as a church by the Apostles or their successors in Jerusalem. I think it is correct to say that no authentic trace of this building has ever been recorded. It is not even clear whether fourth century writers knew of its existence.

St. Epiphanius, it is true, writes about A.D. 392 that a small church existed on Mount Sion at the time of Hadrian's visit to Jerusalem, having escaped the general destruction, along with a few houses and seven synagogues in the same quarter. And St. Cyril, about the middle of the century, describes the tongues of fire, which appeared at Pentecost in Jerusalem as having materialised "in the Upper Church of the Apostles," *ἔνταυθα ἐν τῇ ἀνωτέρᾳ τῶν ’Αποστόλων ἐκκλησίᾳ*—an equivocal phrase which might allude either to the "Upper Room" or to the "Upper City" or Sion, but which leaves it uncertain whether the church was one which existed in his time or only in the historical past.

When Aetheria visited Jerusalem there was certainly a church on Mount Sion: '*ubi Dominus clausis ostiis ingressus est discipulis*,' a church which later writers call "*Sancta Sion*," or "*Mater omnium ecclesiarum*,' and which in their belief dated back to the Apostles. But was that belief well founded? I hardly think it can have been, for Aetheria writes as if the church had been built quite recently—'*modo*' is the word she uses; and it is significant that the Bordeaux Guide names only only Christian monument on Mount Sion, the column of the Flagellation, with no mention of a church either there, at the House of Caiaphas, or anywhere else in that quarter. Above all, our earliest authority, Eusebius, describing the desolation of Jerusalem, plainly states that Mount Sion was no longer in his time a seat of learning, but a mere agricultural tract, ploughed and sown in season. He makes no mention of a church, of an Upper Room, or of any other Christian building.

We cannot, of course, reject the fourth century belief that Mount Sion was the physical centre of the earliest Christian congregation; or that some particular building there housed their assemblies. But where that building stood; how long it survived ; and whether in reality it was perpetuated in the Sancta Sion of later times, are all questions to which, on our present evidence, no certain answer can be given.

Historical sources afford slightly fuller evidence for the earlier history of the Holy Sepulchre. As we all know, the actual Sepulchre is one of a group of rock-cut tombs, of familiar Jewish type, lying about 200 yards north of the buried north wall of Mount Sion. What is now called Calvary is a scarped excrescence of rock only a few yards distant. And, as we all know, the church which encloses them both incorporates parts of the Constantinian structures to which the Bordeaux Pilgrim doubtless alludes.

Now, the question which interests archæology is whether that Jewish cemetery and that excrescence of rock had somehow been able to preserve their Christian associations across the preceding gap of three centuries, during which the superficial aspect of the city must have been drastically modified. It is as if we asked how many Londoners retained the knowledge that the Tyburn river once flowed through Marylebone Lane; or that the famous gallows three centuries ago stood near Marble Arch.

Our oldest sources give little help. Except that Golgotha was " nigh unto the city," and the Tomb " in a garden," nothing in the Gospels enables us to relate the sites with any topographical feature recognisable today.

It is true, of course, that attempts have been made, by recovering the contemporary north wall of Jerusalem, presumed to have run somewhere in advance of the old Wall of Sion, to verify whether the traditional site can rightly be described as " nigh unto the city." But in spite of the interest which this problem has always aroused, systematic excavation in the Old City has never been attempted ; and the material evidence hitherto assembled, including scraps of wall and escarpments of rock seen but inadequately recorded, is still too scanty to be conclusive. The wall discovered by Mr. Johns, which projects northwards from the base of David's Tower and aligns with a massive wall found in 1885, where the " Citadel Hotel " was later to be built, is certainly too late in date to affect the question. (*v.* C. N. Johns : Q.D.A.P., xiv, pp. 157–8.)

We have, then, to turn to such hints of an oral tradition as can be inferred from literary sources; and here our earliest authority is Eusebius. For although we know from Origen and others that topographical questions were not ignored by earlier pilgrims or even theologians, yet it seems that none of them who wrote has left any allusion to the situation or material condition of Golgotha or the Sepulchre.

Now Eusebius tells us that the tomb had been " consigned to limbo and oblivion " (*λήθῃ τε καὶ ἀγνοίᾳ παραδεδομένον*); and it was only in his own time that the divine inspiration of the Emperor Constantine, *πνέυματι κάτοχος θείῳ*, caused the superimposed Temple of Venus to be demolished and removed. In his *Life of Constantine*, Eusebius described in meticulous detail the stages by which the pagan structure was cleared away, with the underlying soil layer by layer, until, miraculously, παρ' ἐλπίδα πᾶσαν, the rock-cut Tomb reappeared.

What one would have wished to learn further is, of course, something of the discussions which must have passed with the local authorities before this gigantic and costly operation was undertaken. As it stands, the story presents a paradox which goes to the root of the matter : on the one hand, we cannot doubt that the site was carefully selected *before* the demolition began ; yet, on the other, Eusebius expressly tells us that the sacred tomb was " consigned to limbo and oblivion." But if so, why was the site, of all others, chosen ? Was it that the site lay in the Forum, and the Forum, as the civic centre of Aelia, was considered the right place for the principal church of the officially supported religion ? But then it is not so clear why such a business was made of pulling down the temple and even clearing away the substructures. Further, if there was no recollection of the cemetery, for example, what a coincidence that excavations guided by quite different factors should have brought to light, in the rocky knoll and the tombs, precisely the physical features required to furnish the symbolical focus of the new buildings !

Though we have no tangible evidence to work on, the facts as related seem on the whole to imply that the proceedings were not without some guidance of local knowledge. It was, after all, a memorial church that was to be built: and we have the analogy of Bethlehem, and the testimony of Origen in that case, to show that in such a matter popular tradition *was* consulted.

If, then, the tomb was somehow known about, what did Eusebius mean by saying that it reappeared παρ' ἐλπίδα πᾶσαν ? And how was it λήθῃ τε καὶ ἀγνοίᾳ παραδεδομένον ? I think the answer is to be found in the context, and especially in a remarkable and curious metaphor which closes the paragraph.

The whole passage is an elaborate rhetorical exercise, and we can assume that every significant word fulfils a logically calculated purpose. Now the phrase which I translate as " consigned to limbo and oblivion " echoes, and therefore alludes to, an earlier paragraph where Eusebius says that " impious men " had taken pains to consign the tomb to " darkness and oblivion." It is the same " darkness and oblivion "; and in each passage it existed first and foremost in the intentions of the " impious men." The recovery of the tomb was " unexpected " or " unhoped for " not in a matter-of-fact historical sense but in relation to the human calculations of those same men, indeed of all men. It was something " more than could be hoped for ", certainly something the ungodly did *not* hope for !

And that gives point to the metaphor with which Eusebius concludes the paragraph : he says, " and the Sacred cave achieved a resurrection from the dead in true likeness (τὴν ὁμοίαν εἰκόνα) to the Resurrection of the Saviour." The rhetorical point is that just as the hopes of the Jews were cheated by the Resurrection, so were those of the heathen cheated by the reappearance of the Tomb. In each case what actually happened could rightly be described, in relation to human calculations, whether friendly or hostile, as παρ' ἐλπίδα πᾶσαν.

So I come back to the point I started with : nearly all these questions of topographical identification are questions of oral tradition. Archæology seldom contributes the last word. In the case of Golgotha, the cemetery on the traditional site is a hard fact; the alignment of contemporary walls and gates might some day become another. But the final test will continue to lie in our estimate of the oral tradition.

If I may express a personal opinion, the facts recorded by Eusebius, both those concerning the recovery of the site by Constantine, and also those (in other parts of his works) which concern the earlier history of the Christian congregation, and the strongly marked physiognomy of Jerusalem itself, with its streets largely determined by rock formations, all these factors, bearing on the existence or otherwise of an oral tradition, seem to justify if not actually to impose the conclusion that the site of Golgotha was never quite lost sight of.

THE PRIESTLY LAVER AS A SYMBOL ON ANCIENT JEWISH COINS

By C. Roth

On the large bronze coins of the Second Revolt bearing the inscriptions 'Jerusalem' or 'Simeon Prince of Israel', there figures what is generally described as a two-handled amphora, without cover. This has been variously explained, but never I think satisfactorily. Paul Romanoff, in his monograph on *Jewish Symbols on ancient Jewish coins* [1] devoted a section (§ ix) to a consideration of this and its significance. He came to the conclusion that it denoted the oil-container used to replenish the great Candelabrum (*Menorah*) which stood in the Temple—the outstanding symbol of Judaism at this time. The difficulty obviously arises, why the Menorah itself does not figure instead, as it does on some earlier Jewish coins. On the other hand, it is certain that some object of basic religious or ritual significance, probably connected with the Temple worship, must have been in the designer's mind.

I venture to suggest that the solution to the problem is to be found in an early source, which has been overlooked hitherto by those who have dealt with Jewish archaeology—the famous Codex Amiatinus in the *Bibliotheca Laurenziana* in Florence. As is well known, this was executed in England in the eighth century, the illuminations, however, being copied from those in the *Codex Grandior* executed for Cassiodorus in the middle of the sixth century.[2] The most important of them is a curious double-page representation of the interior of the Sanctuary in the Wilderness, which according to Cassiodorus himself was drawn under the direction of a blind man from Asia named Eusebius.[2] It has been suspected that this detail is somewhat over-dramatised, but in any case we have Cassiodorus' own word for the Eastern—presumably, Syrian or Palestinian—origin of this representation, which incidentally has certain affinities with Palestinian Jewish art of the period.[3] In the left foreground of the drawing there figures, very prominently, almost in complete isolation and out of all proportion with the other objects shown, what is clearly labelled 'labrum'—i.e., the brazen laver in which the priests were supposed to wash their hands and feet before going in to officiate in the Sanctuary.[4] The similarity between this, and the so-called 'amphora' shown on the coins of the Second Revolt, is very striking, and there does not seem to me to be any doubt that the same object is in question.[5] That it is not (as one would think) conveniently shaped for use, and that it does not conform to our preconceived notions on the subject, is unimportant in this connexion ; for the artist whom Cassiodorus employed must have been well aware of this, and indeed the fact that he depicted with such care a vessel obviously so ill-adapted for the purpose, is an indication of authenticity rather than otherwise. I may add that in the medieval representations of the Sanctuary Vessels, which were a usual element in the illuminated Hebrew Bibles of the Spanish and Mediterranean schools, the Laver, sometimes specifically labelled, is generally shown with two handles, and of much the same shape (e.g., in the Perpignan Bible of 1299 in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (fonds heb. 7). This seems to confirm the fact that this was the form remembered by tradition.[6] As it happens, we have no information in the usual sources regarding the form of the Laver in Herod's Temple. It is probable that there were spigots on the receptacle, not shown in these representations, for the purpose of the ablutions. If this pictorial tradition is correct, it must have been of very great size. But conceivably we are given this impression by a clumsy attempt on the part of the artist to convey a perspective view.

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[1] *Jewish Symbols on Ancient Jewish Coins*, in Jewish Quarterly Review, n.s. xxxiii, xxxiv (also published in volume form).

[2] Cf. Dom H. Quentin, *Mémoire sur l'établissement du texte de la Vulgate*, i (1922), 438 ff.: F. Saxl in Journal of the Warburg Institute, v, 1–19, etc.

[3] I have dealt with this aspect in some detail in a study on the Jewish Antecedents of early Christian Art, now in the press.

[4] Exodus, xxx, 17–20.

An analogous object, hitherto unexplained, is depicted in the well-known " Gold Glass " in the Vatican Museum, discovered in the catacombs, which shews the interior of the Temple in Jerusalem. In front of the Holy of Holies stands the seven-branched candelabrum, in the forefront of the scene. This is flanked on the one side by the ritual appurtenances (Palm-branch, citron, &c.), on the other by a two-handled receptacle precisely similar to that shewn in the Codex Amiatinus. Presumably, this too is intended to depict the Laver —obviously, an integral part of such a grouping.

The symbolic significance of the Laver is obvious. For it was certainly one of the most prominent objects that appeared before the eyes of the worshipper when he went into the Temple, as he approached the Sanctuary. Conceivably, it was regarded at this time as the emblem of the priesthood, and its presence on the Bar Cochba coins may have been intended as a symbolisation of the restored Temple worship. That it figures only on the coins bearing the name ' Simeon,' and not those with ' Eleazar the Priest ', has no bearing on the question ; for whatever personal rivalries there may have been, the restoration of the Temple worship was passionately desired by every Jew. In post-medieval Jewish symbolism, the Priestly emblem (found

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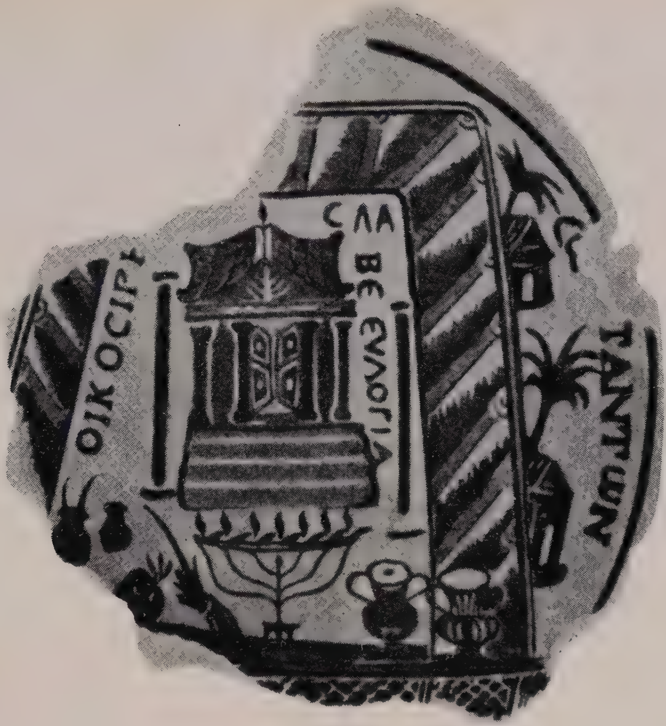
[5] There are also narrow-necked amphoræ, with and without covers, with angular handles, on bronze coins of the First Revolt (Hill, *Catalogue*, xxx, 11–5, 16). Whether or not these are intended to represent the same object is immaterial for my purpose. The same applies to the ' amphoræ ' found in the decoration of Galilæan Synagogues, etc.

[6] On the other hand, a wholly different object in the Dura synagogal frescoes is identified by Mesnil du Buisson (*Les peintures de la Synagogue de Doura-Europos*, 1939, plate xxvii) as the ' cuve d'eau."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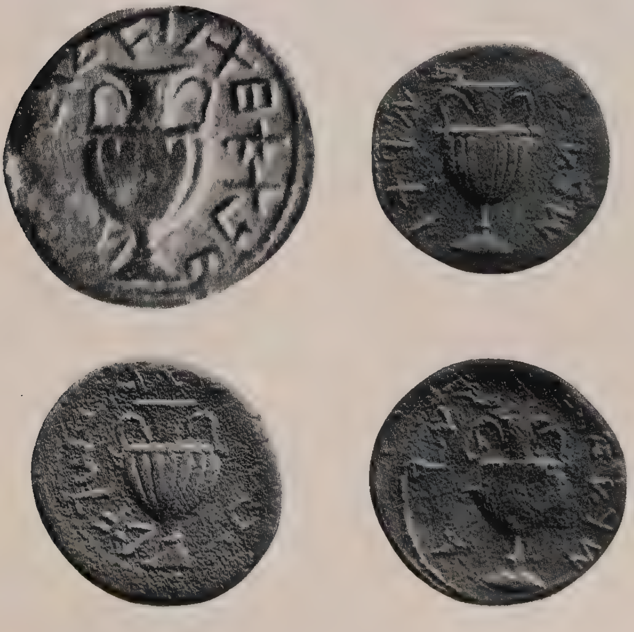
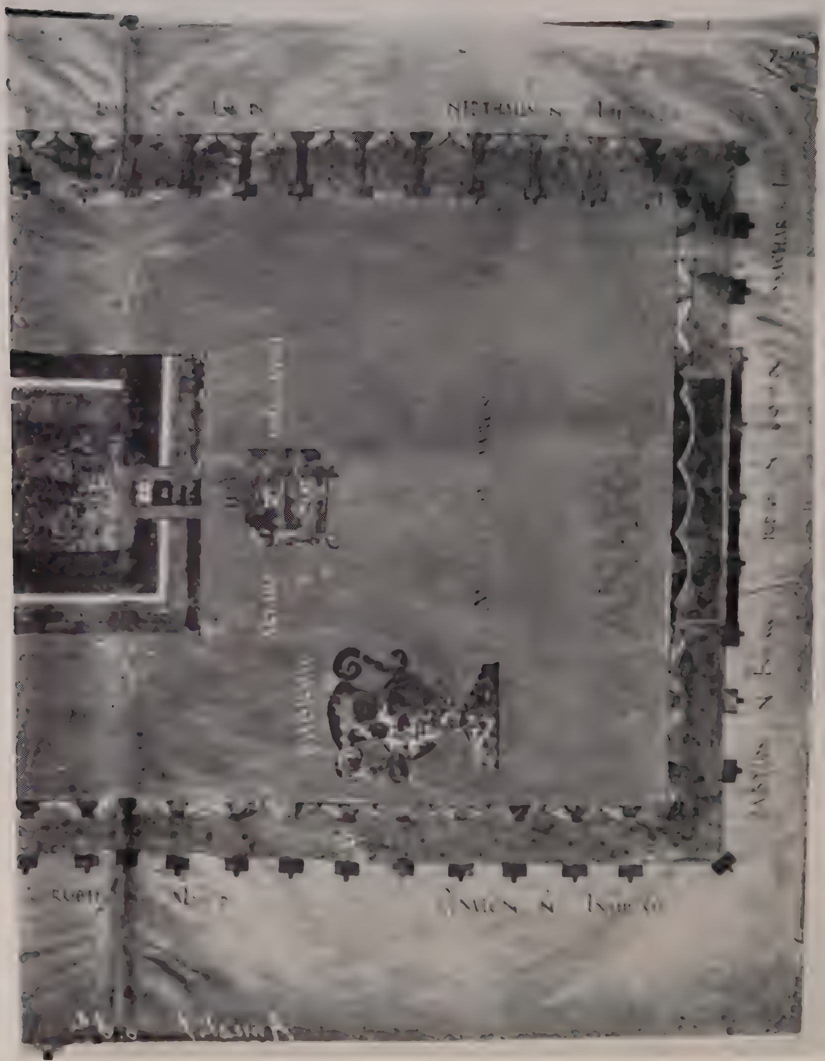
1. Gold Glass showing Temple and Ritual Appurtenances.



2. Bronze Coins of 2nd Revolt, showing Laver.



Forecourt of the Sanctuary in the Wilderness, showing the Priestly Laver. Codex Amiatinus.

very frequently for example on tombstones, to mark the resting-place of a *Cohen*) was the two hands with outspread fingers joined in blessing, this being one of the few remaining priestly functions. To the Levites was left that of laving the hands of the priests before they carried out this duty, so that the normal Levitical symbol was now a ewer and bason. The possibility suggests itself that this has some sort of connexion with the tradition under discussion here, the symbol no longer used by the Priesthood being as it were adopted with certain modifications by their Levitical associates.

If my identification is accepted, it has I imagine some bearing on the archæology of the Temple and its appurtenances. For the evidence, not of the medieval manuscripts or of the Cassiodoran codex but of the Bar Cochba coins, minted little more than half a century after the Destruction of Jerusalem, would obviously suggest the actual form of the Laver in the Temple, about which we have no information in any other source.

THE DATE OF THE HYMNS SCROLL

By Solomon A. Birnbaum

Like the earlier studies by the present writer on the script of some of the Qumrân Scrolls,[1] this article is based purely on the script.[2] It therefore constitutes completely independent evidence as to the date when the Hymns were composed—the date of the manuscript being the terminus *ad quem* for its text. The present study is independent, too, of my own earlier palæographical articles. Each of these presents a separate examination, the manuscript in question being compared with material whose dates are known to us. If these studies arrange themselves in a clear sequence of dates, and this sequence is confirmed when we compare the manuscripts with each other, then we have good grounds for thinking that our palæographical results are reliable.

When attempting to date a manuscript the palæographer will start by making a preliminary examination of the script. That will enable him to limit down the area to be covered by a detailed investigation and to concentrate on this. In the case of our Scroll a preliminary examination shows beyond doubt that the script of it is neither as old as the papyri of Elephantine (last dated one : 400 B.C.E.) nor as young as the Dura documents (244 C.E. and preceding decades). Between these two limits we have sufficient datable and dated material to locate the Hymns Scroll (Hym) with a fair degree of precision.

Our examination is based on the only legible facsimiles hitherto published, which we here reproduce.[3] The material utilised for comparison is :[4] the 3rd cent. B.C.E. documents from Egypt (Eg), the Tobias inscription (Tob) of probably 183–175 B.C.E. (Vincent : c. 260 B.C.E.), the Sabbath boundary stones of Gezer (GezB) of the first third of the 1st cent. B.C.E., the ossuary graffiti (Oss) of about the hundred years ending with the fall of the Temple, the Uzziah plaque (Uz) of the same period, and the Queen Helena graffito (Hel) of the decade 50–60 C.E.

Aleph : The main stroke starts just below the line ceiling. It is straight as in Oss and Uz. The right stroke is of almost triangular outline and of considerable length, as in Oss and Uz, in contrast with the shortish form of Eg. The left stroke is straight and slants down to the left. As in Eg, it generally starts somewhere in the upper half of the main stroke. It is straight, as in Oss. As in Eg, Uz and on most Oss, it does not reach the line bottom.

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[1] The name Dead Sea Scrolls does not adapt itself well to the situation created by the newest finds, which also hail from the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea. The designation Cave Scrolls or Cave MSS., used by the writer from the start, appears to present no difficulties : the earlier finds might be called the Qumrân Cave Scrolls (MSS.), or, for short, Qumrân Scrolls (MSS.), the new ones Muraba'ât Cave Manuscripts or, for short, Muraba'ât Manuscripts.

[2] Cf. my study " The Qumrân Scrolls and Palæography," Baltimore, 1952.

[3] With Prof. E. L. Sukenik's kind permission, from his מגילות גנוזות, I, pll. 12 and 13.

[4] For bibliographical references see P.E.Q. 81 : 140–142 (1949).

B: The top stroke is a rather narrow tick which corresponds to the rectangular tick of Tob and the curve of Eg, not to the formalised top bar of Oss. The downstroke[5] slants slightly rightwards and just before arriving at the line bottom, swings to the right; it then turns leftward as a long base, which is sometimes slightly oblique or curved. Thus the general form is reached—the most frequent one in Oss—where the base is produced rightwards.

G: Fairly often the downstroke starts with a sort of triangular thickening on the right, which corresponds to the small upstroke in Gez B. The left stroke issues from the middle of the right one, never from the top or near it, which it does in Eg. Now and then the letter appears to be written with one lift of the pen, i.e., after having arrived at the line bottom the pen again moves back upwards to about the middle of the downstroke, thence to continue into the left stroke. Both curved and straightish varieties are to be found. Curves occur in Oss.

D: The top-part is a medium-sized acute angle and thus stands in between the small curve of Eg and the long formalised top bar of Oss and Uz. It joins the main stroke near the top, as in Eg, some Oss and Uz.

H: The top stroke is just below the line ceiling. It is horizontal and straight and has thus almost achieved the formalisation of Oss, Uz and Hel. As it is made by a double stroke it is very thick. The left downstroke starts in the middle of the top stroke as in Tob, not in the right-hand corner (Eg) nor at the left edge (Oss). It is parallel to the right-hand stroke, as in Oss but not oblique as in Eg. There is as yet no trace of the open form of the letter (through the severing of the left vertical from the top stroke) which occurs on some Oss, in Hel, and three times out of five in Uz.

W: The top is an acute angle as in Oss and Uz, not, as in Tob, rectangular. The left stroke is short as in Oss and Uz, while Tob has a long top part corresponding to the wide top of Eg. The downstroke is now and then very slightly curved.

Z is a downstroke of line height, practically straight, with a very slight indication of waviness, and with or without a very slight thickening on the right side of the top. The latter corresponds to the forms of Uz and some Oss where the top is not thickened but oblique. On other Oss, however, and in GezB this little oblique stroke joins the vertical somewhat further down. In Eg the letter is a plain straight vertical, sometimes of less than line height.

Ḥ: There is a distinct horizontal top stroke, just below the line ceiling. The shafts are straight. The letter tallies with the form of Oss and Uz.

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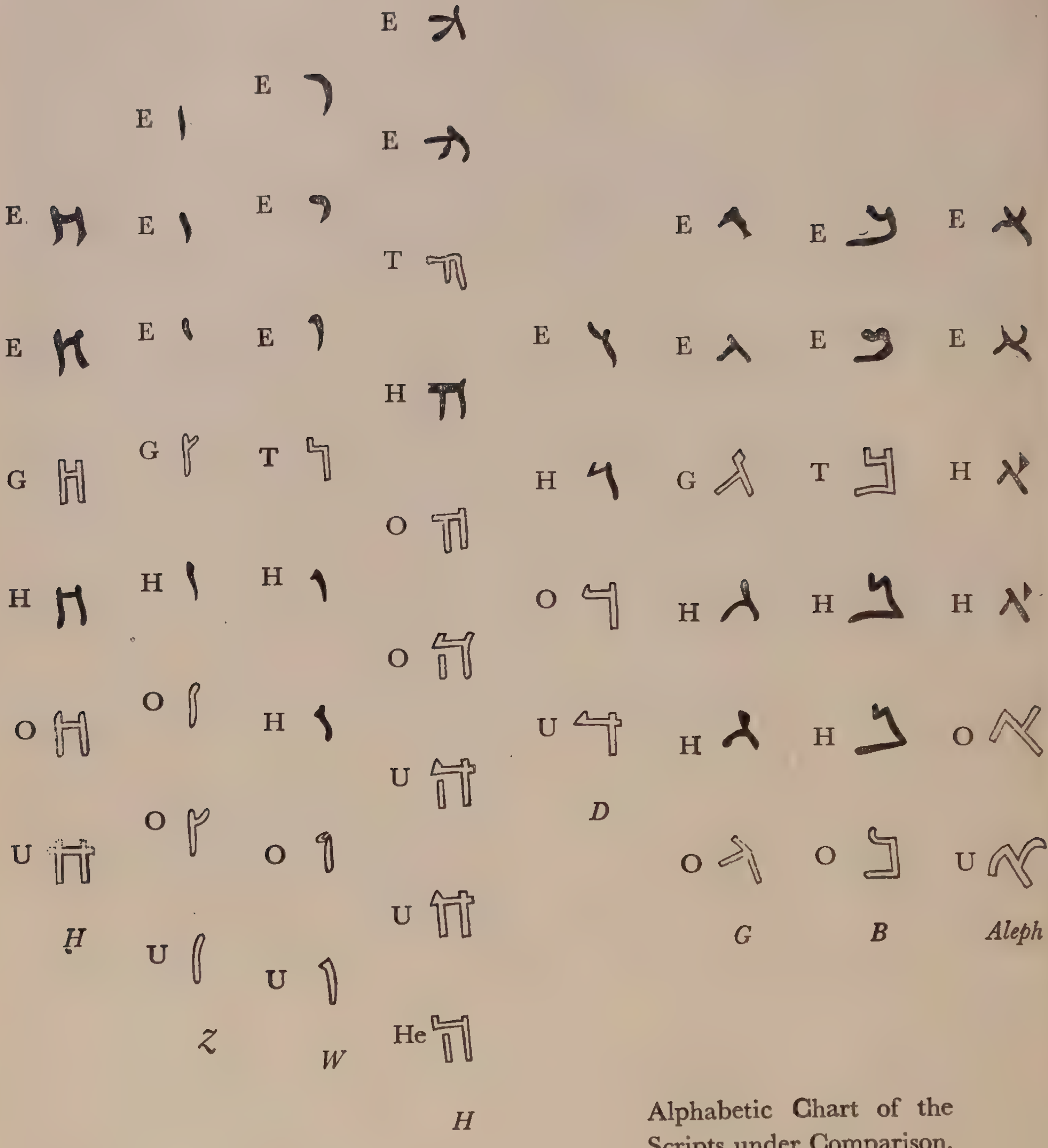
[5] The downstrokes are not vertical, they slant about 15 degrees to the right.



Alphabetic Chart of the Scripts under Comparison.
Aleph—Ḥeth.

E = Eg. G = Gez B. H = Hym. He = Hel. O = Ou. T = Tob. U = Uz.

T: The right part consists of an upper semi-circle, from whose right end, in the middle of the line height, a straight stroke issues forth and slants down leftwards to the line bottom. Here it is met by the left part of the letter, a somewhat oblique and very slightly curved stroke of line height, starting with a thickened twist. The shape of Hym is very unlike that of Eg and Tob, where it resembles a figure 6: its left stroke is very curved and almost double the height of the right part. Hym tallies with Oss and Uz, except that in them the right downstroke is less oblique than here and thus suggests a base. In all three of them the letter is wide, unlike the narrow forms of Eg and Tob.

Y is an oblique downstroke of line height, on the left of which, not far from the top, a short stroke issues at right angles. This type is in between Eg and Oss. The top part differentiates *Y* and *W*: In *Y* it is thicker and triangular. The whole letter is sometimes heavier—and, if curved, often more so—than *W*.

K: As in Uz the top part is a short or medium-sized tick. Its left, vertical stroke tends to be stunted, or even to disappear altogether. The right stroke is horizontal; as in Uz it joins the top of the main stroke, forming with it a well-defined, almost rectangular corner. The straight downstroke has a slightly rightward slant and on reaching the line bottom swings at right angles leftwards to form an oblique, fairly long base. In Eg the base is a curve far down below the line bottom, in Uz and Hel it is a horizontal on the line bottom. The letter is very different from *B*.

k: Here the horizontal portion of the top tick is just below the line ceiling, as in Uz. As in Eg and Uz the downstroke extends below the line bottom to a length almost double the line height. It is slightly wavy as in Eg while in Uz it is straight.[6]

L is in three parts: a very tall downstroke, with a thickened initial twist, slopes rightward to just below the line ceiling. From here a very small horizontal runs rightward and then slants down sharply leftwards, without, however, reaching the line bottom—sometimes stopping in the middle of the line height. In Eg the letter is a wavy line, the three parts gradually curving into each other, but forms consisting of two parts are also beginning to appear. The Hym type is characteristic of Oss, Uz and Hel.

M: The top part is a small tick. From its point a straight stroke slants down leftwards—a continuation, as it were, of the right-hand stroke of the tick. It stops in the middle of the line height. From the right end of the top a straight downstroke slopes down rightwards to the line bottom. Here it turns leftwards at a slightly obtuse angle to form an oblique base of medium length. In Eg the top is wider and still a wavy line. The right top corner is therefore round, while in Hym it is sharply pointed. In Eg the left down-

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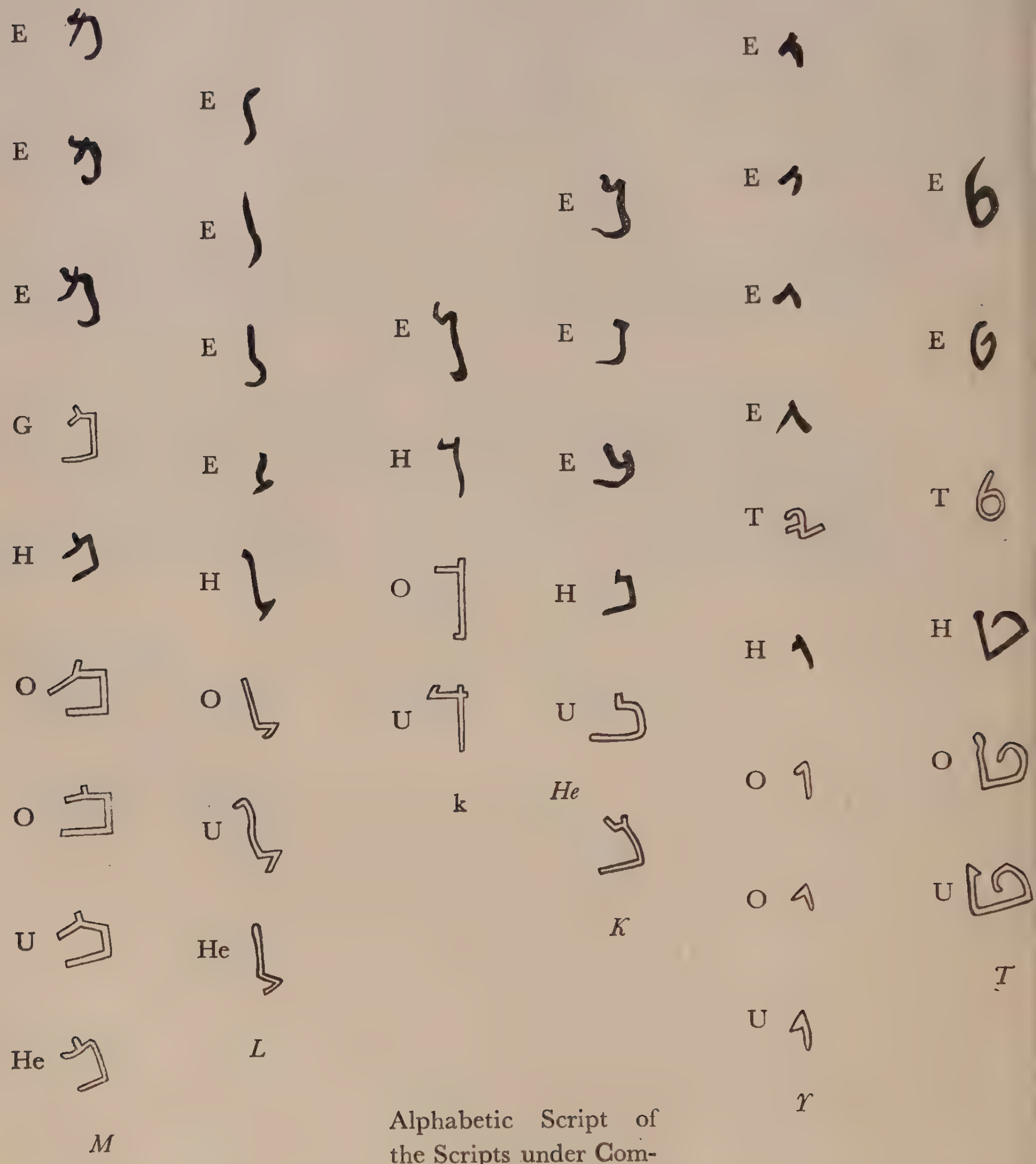
[6] In pl. 1, l. 5, the final form occurs in a non-final position. It is obvious that the writer realised what he had done before he started the next word and that he added the *H* at once. The same word without *H* occurs at the end of l. 11.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Alphabetic Script of the Scripts under Comparison. Tath—Mom.

E = Eg. G = Gez B. H = Hym. He = Kel. O = Oss. T = Tob. U = Uz stroke passes through the top, which it never does in Hym. Here the *M* tallies with GezB, most Oss and Uz.

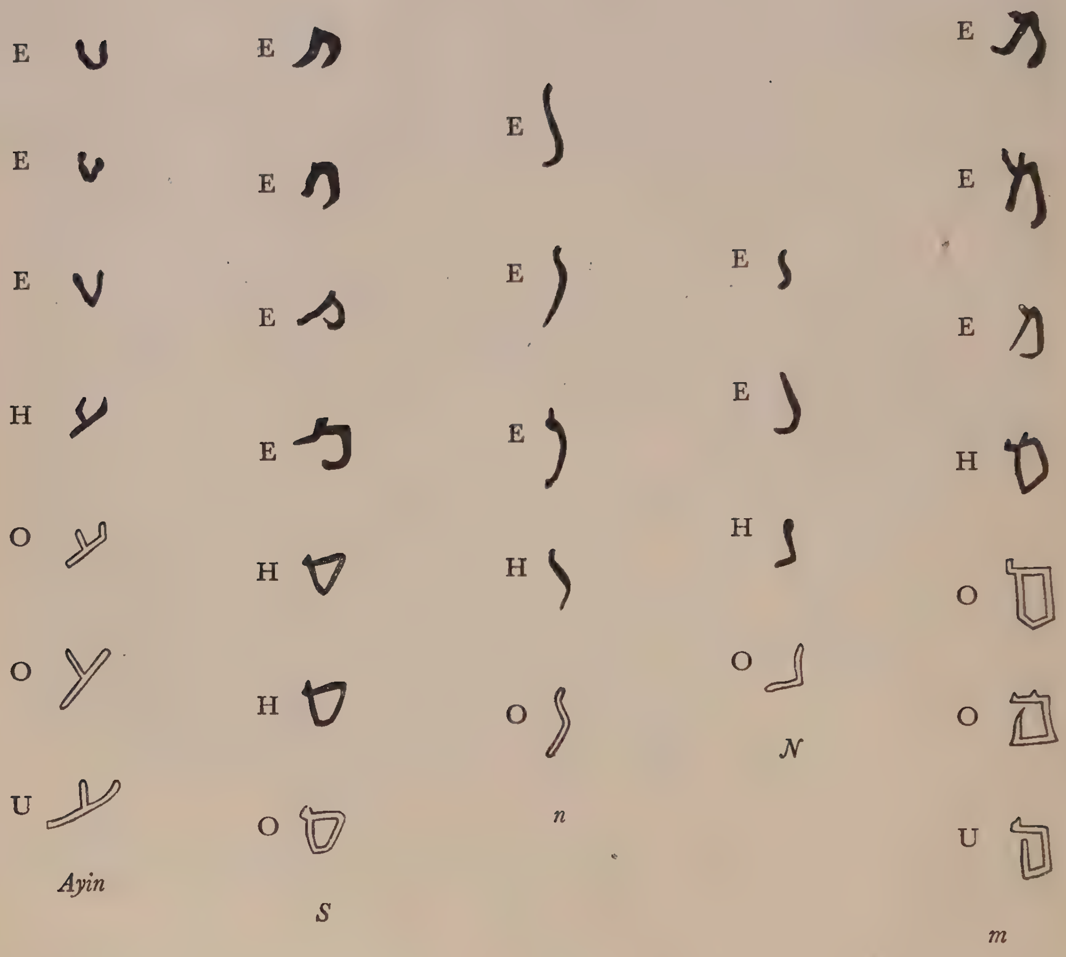
m: As far as one can tell from the unsatisfactory facsimiles, the letter consists of a right and a left part. On the right there is a small tick from which a downstroke slants rightward to considerably below the line bottom. Here it turns at a slightly obtuse angle to the left, to form an oblique base of medium length. On the left there is a top tick and a straight downstroke which runs to the left end of the base. The horizontal parts of the two ticks have an appearance of forming one single top bar. The left part of the right tick and the left downstroke together seem to form one single stroke too, crossing the top bar. That this part was not constructed like that is betrayed by the fact that the short top of this apparent cross stroke differs considerably in slant from the main part, the downstroke. What reason could the writer have had for changing the direction of the cross stroke as soon as he reached the top bar? We seem here to have the same construction as in the Habakkuk Scroll where it is beyond doubt that the earlier form was dissolved into quite new elements which, however, aimed at reproducing the old form. The letter, though rather narrow, is one of the largest in the alphabet. It differs from Eg in being closed while there the left downstroke forms so large an angle with the vertical that it cannot meet the bottom curve. On the other hand it differs from Oss and Uz in never being open at the left top corner, and in having an oblique base.

N consists of a slightly oblique downstroke which, at the line bottom, turns —at right angles—leftward to form a medium-sized base. In Eg there is not yet a base, in Oss the base is very long so that the Hym form takes up an intermediate position, but somewhat closer to Oss than to Eg. The downstroke has an initial triangular thickening on the right-hand side, in other words, this form of *N* is an angularisation of the wavy line characteristic of Eg (although some straightening has already started there). A corresponding form is the one that is generally used in Oss, although a type with a plain, straight downstroke also occurs there. Whether there are traces of this in Hym cannot be decided on the basis of our material.

n starts as a vertical downstroke which very soon curves to the right, and then, in the lower half of the line height, to the left, so that the letter consists of a wavy line which extends below the line bottom to the length of almost a full line height. Both Eg and Oss are of the long and wavy type.

S: From just below the line ceiling the top stroke goes towards the right with a gentle upward slant till it reaches the line ceiling. From there—at a very acute angle—a downstroke runs leftward to the line bottom. The letter is closed on the left by a downstroke which starts at the line ceiling and slopes to the right. *S* thus forms a triangle standing on one of its angles. Hym differs greatly from the open type of Eg and tallies with Oss.

'*Ayin:* The right stroke is produced downwards to the line bottom. This form does not occur yet in Eg but tallies with the shapes of Oss and Uz.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Alphabetic Chart of the Scripts under Comparison. Final Mom—ʿAyin.

E = Eg. G = Gez B. H = Hym. He = Kel. O = Oss. T = Tob. U = Uz.

On some Oss the downstroke extends to well below the line bottom, a development of which there are as yet no traces in Hym.

P: The main stroke, sometimes very slightly curved, slants rightward from the line ceiling to the line bottom. Here it turns, at right angles, leftwards to form a medium-sized base, at the end of which there is often a slight thickening of the upper edge. From the top of the main stroke, at an acute angle, a stroke slants down leftwards, stopping at—or before it reaches—the middle of the line height. The outline of the letter is thus a triangle whose left side has a wide gap in the middle. In Eg the base is not yet developed. Hym tallies with Oss but the left stroke never resembles the curve of Uz.

p starts like *P*, but while in the latter the downstroke, upon reaching the line bottom, turns leftwards at right angles to form a base, in *p* the angle in question is an obtuse one, with the result that no base is formed and the letter is prolonged to almost double a line height. The left stroke is somewhat curved. Similar forms are present in Eg and Oss.

Ṣ: A slightly oblique downstroke extends to just below the line bottom and then turns leftward to form—at right angles—a short base, straight or sometimes curved. In its upper half the downstroke is met (or closely approached) on the right by a triangular stroke. Hym tallies with Eg and Oss.

ṣ has a corresponding upper part but instead of turning leftwards to form a base, the downstroke is prolonged below the line bottom, the letter thus being of double a line height.

Q: The top stroke, starting as a tick, runs to just below the line ceiling. From its right end issues—sometimes after a short transitional stage—a short stroke which slants down leftwards to about the middle of the line height. It thus does not reach the shaft. The latter starts from the top stroke.[7] In Eg we have only fully closed forms, in Oss open ones as well, so that Hym stands nearer to Oss. The same holds good in regard to the longness of the shaft, a feature which is absent in Eg.

R: The top is a medium sized or narrow tick which joins the top of the downstroke. This and the fact that the right part of the tick becomes horizontal, distinguishes it from *D*. Eg and GezB have a narrow top, Oss as a rule a wide or very wide and completely horizontal one. Hym is thus intermediate between the two. As regards the structure of the corner, it tallies with Oss.

Ś: The outline of the letter is a triangle standing on one of its angles. The right stroke, sometimes starting with a slight thickening or bend, slants to the left at an angle of 45 degrees and is somewhat curved. The left stroke is a normal downstroke, i.e., almost vertical, with the result that the angle at the bottom of the letter is very acute. The inner stroke slopes towards the left one but often does not reach it. The right stroke joins the left one just

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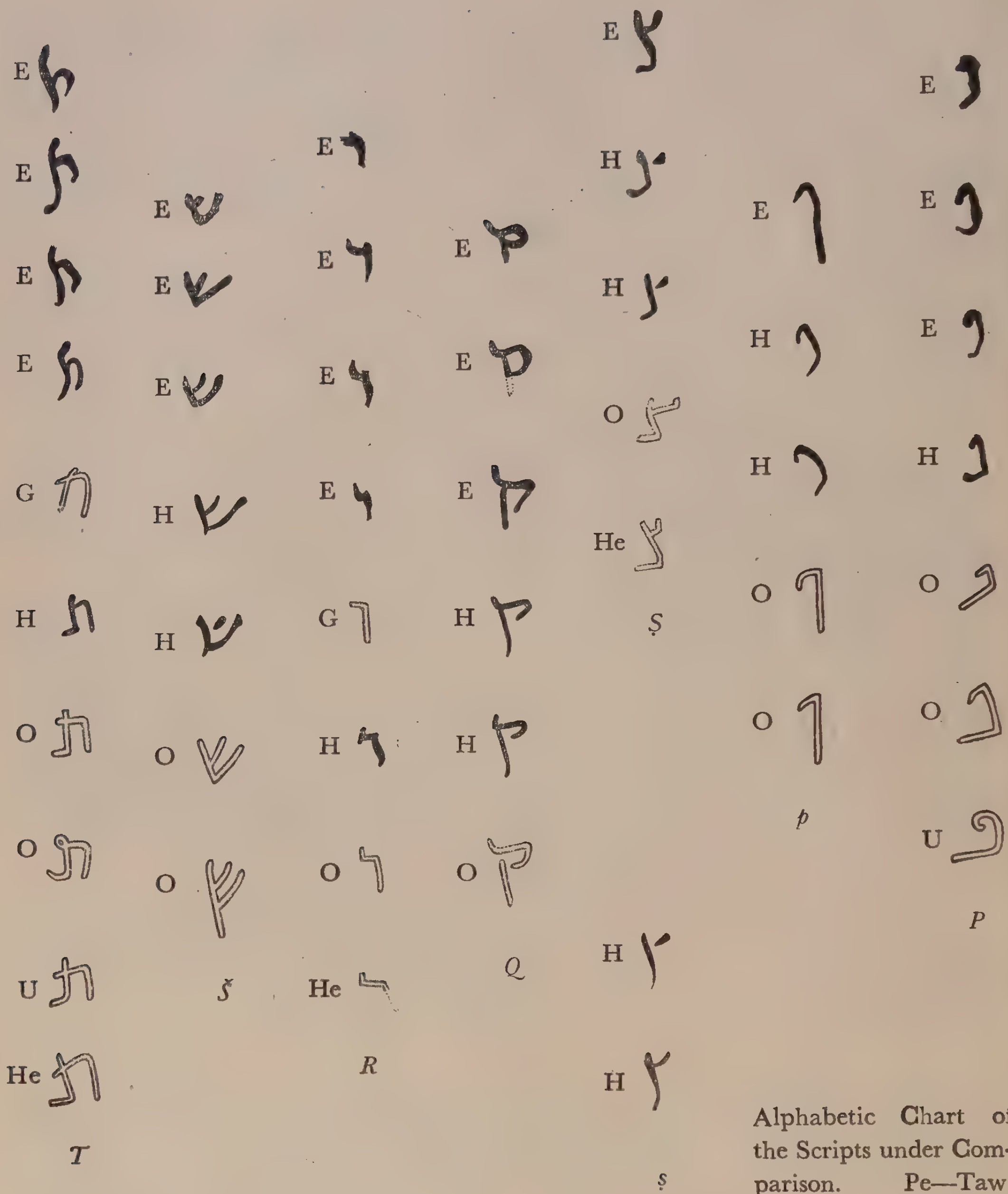
[7] From the facsimile we cannot quite tell whether there is a tick or whether what looks like the left stroke of the tick is really the top of the shaft.


T
š
R
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Ṣ
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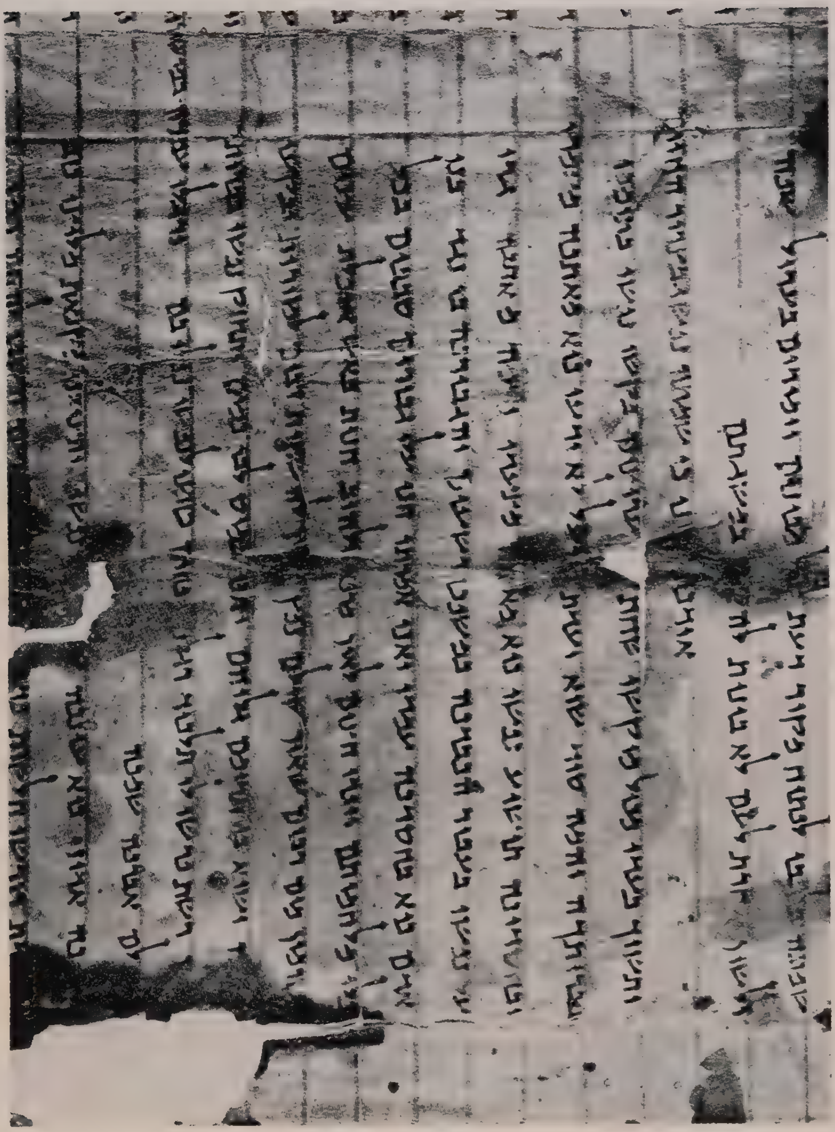
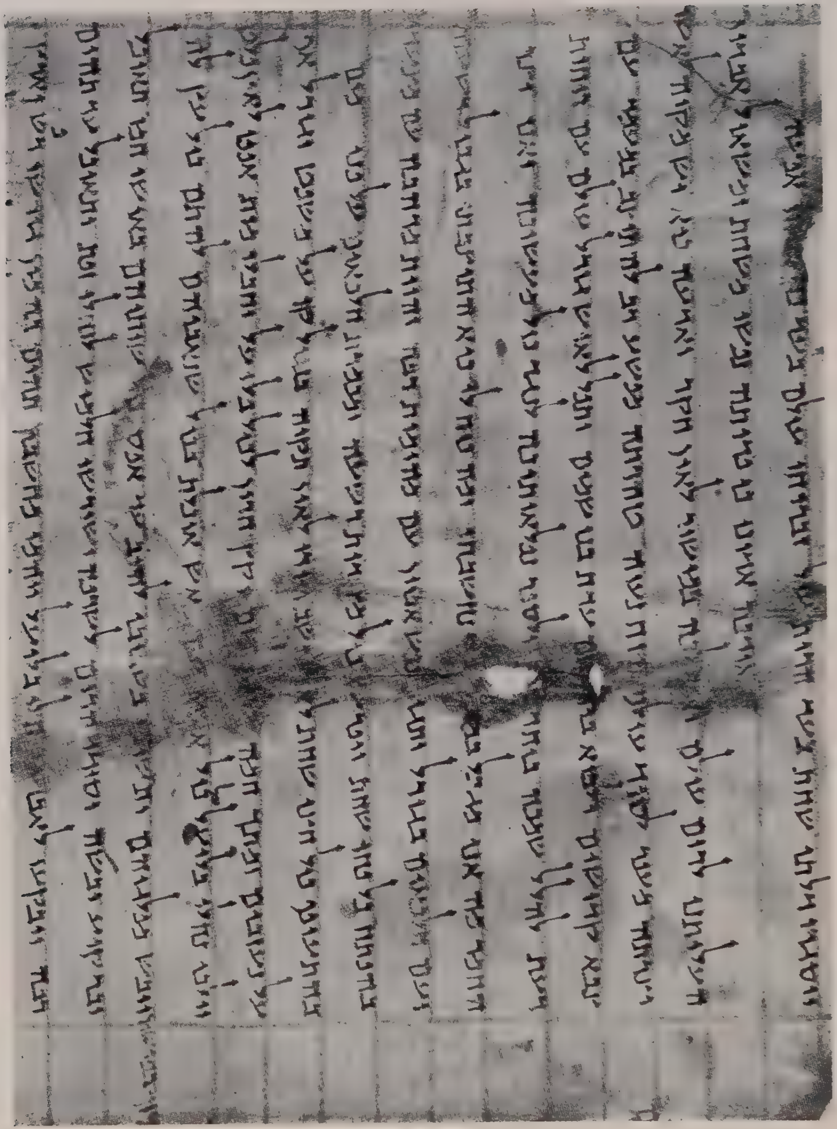
Alphabetic Chart of the Scripts under Comparison. Pe—Taw.

E = Eg. G = GezB. H = Hym. He = Kel. O = Oss. T = Tob. U = Uz.



Specimen of Hymns Scroll.



Specimen of Hymns Scroll.

above the line bottom. This feature is characteristic of Oss, where the left stroke is sometimes produced to far below the line bottom.

T: A short stroke, just below the line ceiling, slants up to it, thence a straight downstroke runs down to the line bottom. On the left the top stroke is passed and touched by a straight downstroke coming from the line ceiling. At the line bottom it turns leftward, at right angles, so that the type with a foot is produced. In Eg the left stroke is wavy and much taller, the one on the right very curved. Hym tallies with Hel and with some Oss, while others have already developed a formalised top bar, and others again show a transition form, where the top of the left vertical and the top curve of the right part are linked together by a loop.

To sum up: Three features of *aleph B* and *k* are indicative of an earlier rather than of a later date within the period in question. Twenty-seven features of *aleph B G H W Z Ḥ Ṭ K k L M N S ayin P Q R Ṡ T* point to a late date within the period. Thus it seems reasonable to assign our manuscript to the Oss period. The absence in the Scroll of certain late features —in *H m ayin P* and *Ṡ*—might indicate that our script belongs to the earlier part of that period—say the late 1st cent. B.C.E. or the early 1st cent C.E.

KHIRBET QUMRAN AND WADY MURABA'AT

Fresh Light on the Dead Sea Scrolls and New Manuscript Discoveries in Jordan

By G. LANKESTER HARDING

KHIRBET QUMRAN is a small ancient site situated about half a kilo to the south of the Scrolls cave (map ref. 1936. 1277) and has frequently been mentioned in connection with this find. It has been chiefly notable for its cemetery of more than 1,000 graves laid out in long parallel rows, a few of which were excavated by us in 1949 when working on the Scrolls cave. Nothing whatever was found in the graves, but surface sherds suggested a second or third century A.D. date for the site, which seemed to preclude its having anything to do with the cave, which we dated to the first century B.C. However, surface finds can be very misleading, and before preparing our final publication of the cave and its contents it was considered desirable to make at least a small sounding there. Accordingly the Department of Antiquities, again in collaboration with the École Biblique et Archéologique Française and the Palestine Archæological Museum, undertook three weeks' work there last December. (On the basis of more accurate maps, the reference number for the cave in P.E.Q., 1949 must now be corrected to 1932. 1282.)

The site is on the North side of the Wady Qumran, on a prominence of the foothills which slope steeply down to the Wady about 200 feet below, less steeply to the Dead Sea on the East, and are intersected by smaller wadies on the North. An aqueduct was constructed for a distance of about half a kilo to the pools in the upper part of Wady Qumran, and the water was stored in large cisterns in the site. The living quarters consist of a main building 37 x 30 metres with outlying rooms on the North, South and West. We excavated three rooms in the South West and two in the North East corners of the main building, and made a small sounding in the outlying buildings to the North West. A great deal of pottery was recovered, and we were fortunate enough to find a number of coins, which give good evidence for the dating. These coins range from those of the Procurators under Augustus, about A.D. 10, to the first Jewish revolt, about A.D. 67. So far, there is no evidence for anything later.

The main outer wall, when cleared of its encumbering debris, turns out to be constructed of large, undressed stones with mud plaster. The quality of the work is very poor, and in no way resembles that of a Roman fort which we first took it to be. Inner walls are of equally poor workmanship, being mostly of rubble and mud. During its short life the interior of the building underwent two or three changes and remodellings, as witnessed, for example, by a blocked-up doorway, and in one room at least the floor level was slightly raised. Almost on the present surface was a floor level and cross walls which seem to belong to a period of Medieval Arab occupation. All the original buildings had been destroyed by a great fire, of which clear traces were found everywhere we excavated. Most of the pottery was found on the lower floor levels, which suggests that there was a somewhat hurried abandoning of the place. Some pots were still in position in a small cupboard in one wall.

Sunk into the floor of one of the rooms was a jar identical with most of those found in the Scrolls cave: the jar was covered by a small flagstone but was empty. On the floor beside it was a coin of the Roman Procurators under Augustus, about A.D. 10. We thus, even in the small area so far excavated, have a direct connection with the Scrolls, and a correction for our original idea about the dating of the cave deposit, which we placed nearly a century too early, in the first century B.C. Remains of many cooking pots and lamps similar to those found in the cave were also recovered, which were previously dated to the second or third centuries A.D., but there are no examples of the long-spouted lamps so characteristic of the late Hellenistic period, two of which were in the cave.

This is interesting confirmation of the accuracy of the date established by submitting some of the linen from the cave to what is known as the Carbon^{14} test. In this test, the radio-active isotopes of carbon^{14} contained in the material are measured and a date estimated on this basis. The estimated degree of accuracy is plus or minus two hundred years, and the date thus achieved for the linen was, that the flax of which it was made ceased to grow 1,917 years ago, plus or minus 200 years. That is to say from 167 B.C. to A.D. 237, with a central figure of A.D. 33 (the test was carried out in 1950).

It would appear, then, that the people who lived at Khirbet Qumran deposited the scrolls in the cave, probably about A.D. 70. The situation fits in well with Pliny the Elder's account of the Essenes who had a settlement "above Engeddi," and the ruin itself, with its peculiar cemetery which is without parallel in other ancient sites in Jordan, is clearly not an ordinary defensive or agricultural post. Furthermore, a recent expedition of the École Biblique et Archéologique Française, the American School of Oriental Research and the Palestine Archæological Museum, has shown that every cave and rock shelter from Wady Qumran to Wady Jawfat Zabin was utilised in some way during the existence of the settlement.

All the above conclusions represent a complete reversal of those published in previous articles, and show how little is really known about the accurate dating of pottery of the first centuries B.C.–A.D. Due allowance must also be made for the fact that the place was, so to speak, a "closed settlement," having, perhaps, but little contact with the outside world.

Wady Murabaʿat has also produced material which will have a vital bearing on the dating of the Scrolls. These caves, four in number, are situated in a very remote part of the country south-east of Bethlehem (map ref. 1854. 1107). The nearest point to which transport can be brought is the

Beqei‘ plain, three hours' walking distance from the caves. After rains the plain is impossible to cars, and a seven hours' walk was involved, either to Bethlehem or Nebi Musa. There is no cultivation or permanent settlement of any kind in the district, and the Taamireh Bedu move their camps about following the pasturage. Fortunately there had been good rains before we got there (and while we were there), so there was a plentiful supply of water in the Wady bed; the Bedu depend mainly on the Roman cisterns, of which there are many on the track to the caves. Our supplies had to be maintained by mule, which met the car twice a week except when it rained. But even the mule could not make the final descent into the wady loaded, and everything had to be carried down the last stretch by the workers.

The wady, Muraba‘at or Darajeh as it is called indiscriminately, is a great gorge some 200 metres deep, almost sheer on its north side, steeply sloping on the south ; as it nears the Dead Sea the sides become completely vertical. The caves are on the north side of the gorge, three of them together in a vertical rock face, the fourth on the slopes above. A narrow rock ledge about two metres wide runs along the foot of the cliff, and on this we pitched our camp. When it rained, showers of small stones loosened by the water fell on the tents and anyone unfortunate enough to be passing.

Caves I and II were the largest, and produced most of the material : they were each about 50 metres long, II having the additional complication of underground passages beneath the fallen roofing blocks and through clefts in the rock. They were all filled with fine, powdery grey dust which when disturbed rose in clouds and filled the eyes, nose and mouth ; it also choked and extinguished in about 10 minutes the pressure lamps generally used for such work. When we first arrived we found 34 Arabs busy in these two caves, working by the light of small open paraffin flares, to which in the end we had to resort until the Arab Legion came to our rescue with the loan of an electric lighting plant. The transporting of this, on mule, donkey and human backs, was quite a business, but it enabled us to work in comfort once it was installed. Our principal worker, Hasan Awad again, wore a car lamp with reflector on his forehead.

Cave I was a large natural cavern 51 metres long by about five wide and the same in height. In the entrance to the cave we found that a large cistern had been constructed, plaster lined, and in front of it a small settling tank for the water with four steps leading down to it. No trace could be found as to how water was conducted there : the cistern had originally been roofed over by a system of corbelling with large, flat stones. The whole roof of the cavern had collapsed in remote geological times, and on this collapsed roof was the ancient level.

In cave II the roof of the main part had only partly collapsed anciently, blocking the entrance except for a narrow gap, and leaving the rest of the roof hanging precariously. In addition, there were long, narrow tunnels at a lower level than the main chamber, partly in the fallen roof blocks and partly in natural clefts in the rock. These were filled with fallen stones and dust, but the presence of quantities of sherds showed that they had been occupied anciently and had to be excavated. However, Hasan Awad evolved a way of clearing the whole of the entrance without danger, which involved smashing huge blocks of stone, some of which were 3 metres long by a metre thick. One expected the reverberations caused by the blows of the sledge hammers to bring the rest of the roof crashing down on us, but it held. There was a steep drop from the ledge outside the caves to the bed of the ravine about 60 metres below, and it was an awe-inspiring sight and sound when the great boulders rolled and bounded down, to smash into fragments on the rocky wady bed.

The other two caves were smaller, and produced nothing but pottery, cloth, basket work, and so on, of which large quantities were found in both I and II. Some fine pieces of weaving and embroidery were found, and many different types of cloth of various colours. Most of it was from discarded garments, and had been patched several times ; indeed the early inhabitants of these caves must have looked much like our workers, some of whose garments were more patch than original cloth.

It soon became clear to us that there had, as usual, been an earlier disturbance of the places than that caused by the recent Bedu incursion, and a few sherds, a coin and some fragments of Arabic written on a rough, thick paper, suggested a temporary occupation in Medieval times. There were great quantities of sherds which could be dated to the second century A.D., a few of which were inscribed in Hebrew or Greek, and to this period of occupation the other inscriptional material also belonged. But mixed with these were other very coarse sherds which at first we were inclined to think belonged to the Arab occupation, until a few turned up which could be absolutely equated with similar ware and forms found at Tell el Ghassul in the Jordan Valley and which belonged to the Chalcolithic period, c. 4500 B.C. When later the sherds were more carefully examined it was found that there were also many of the Late Iron Age, c. eighth to seventh centuries B.C., the Middle Bronze Age, c. 1600 B.C., and few of the Early Bronze Age, c. 2500 B.C.

Chief interest, however, centred on the unique papyrus and leather manuscript fragments, the bulk of which was in cave II. It soon became apparent why so much of this material was in so fragmentary a state, as we found most of it in rats' nests. The animals used this, after gnawing and tearing it to convenient pieces, together with ancient cloth as lining for their nests, and the discovery of one guaranteed the discovery of at least a few pieces of papyrus.

In the deepest tunnel we were able to establish a stratification of the soil, the top layer containing second century A.D., Iron Age and Chalcolithic sherds, the next Iron Age, Middle and Early Bronze and Chalcolithic, and finally an undisturbed Chalcolithic level. There being absolutely no dampness in the caves, we recovered from this level both wood and basket work in perfect condition. A donkey goad, made of a tamarisk branch, might have been cut yesterday by one of our workers : it was fortunate that both Père de Vaux and I were present when it was removed from this undisturbed layer as otherwise we might have doubted even Hasan's word for it. Another interesting object of the period is the wooden handle of an adze, the leather thongs for tying on the flint blade being still attached, but the blade missing.

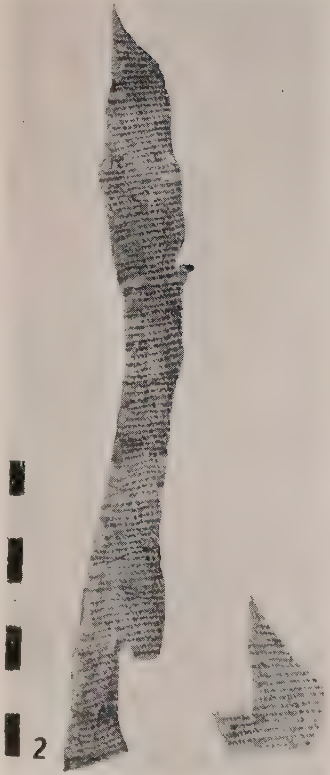
The documentary material consists mostly of letters and business documents, with a few very fragmentary pieces of Biblical books, Genesis, Exodus and Deuteronomy. One document in Greek, a marriage contract, is dated in the seventh year of Hadrian, A.D. 124 ; another Greek document is an agreement for a loan. There are also fragments of what appears to be a literary composition, possibly historical, in a very beautiful book hand, though much of the material is written in a cursive hand, and is very difficult to read.

Among the Hebrew material are several fragmentary copies of what appears to be the proclamation by Simeon ben Kosibah of the second revolt of the Jews, against Hadrian : they refer to " the deliverance of Israel by the Ministry of Simeon ben Kosibah, prince of Israel." There are also letters from this same Simeon ben Kosibah, whose name was later changed to Bar Kokhbah, to the local chief of the army, one Yeshua ben Galgoleh. A number of coins of the second revolt (A.D. 132–135) confirm the dating. Another interesting piece is a phylactery, written on a torn strip of thin leather in tiny but very clear characters. It was rolled up and enclosed in another piece of leather which had been torn or cut from some Greek manuscript. Again much of the material is in a very cursive hand and will be very hard to interpret, especially as it is mostly so fragmentary and there are no other contemporary documents with which to compare it.

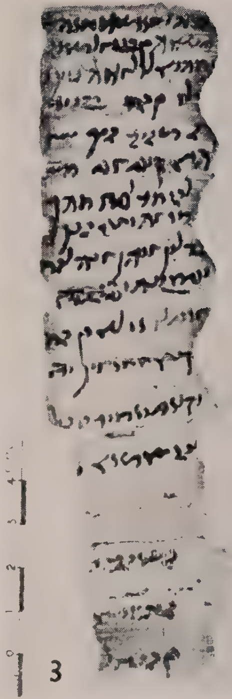
A very curious find was a leather bag, which upon examination turned out to be made of two sheets of a Greek or perhaps Latin manuscript. The writing is very faint, and it has not yet been possible to read it : infra red photography is being called in to help in the interpretation of all the documents. There are several cases of palimpsests, one of which is in the early Phoenician type of script.

The discovery of documents of Simeon ben Kosibah or Bar Kokhbah is of considerable interest. We know from classical historians that the Jews upon the proclamation of the second revolt fled into the wilderness of Judea, and from inaccessible caves and valleys carried on a guerilla warfare against the Romans. On account of these tactics Hadrian found great difficulty in suppressing the revolt, and it was not until A.D. 135 that the last stronghold was taken. Ben Kosibah apparently considered himself to be the long promised Messiah, and he was accepted as such by the people and by the most celebrated Rabbi of the day, Akiba, who was responsible for changing his name to Bar Kokhbah, son of a star.

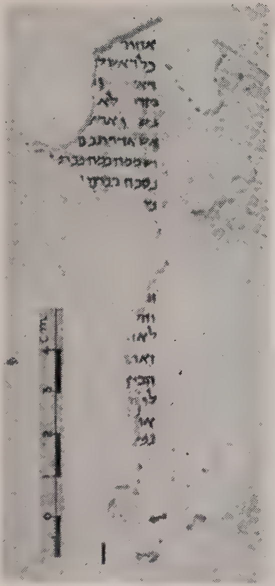
There is no connection of any kind between this series of caves and that in which the Dead Sea Scrolls were found. The latter was a depository for a library in times of trouble, whereas the Muraba'at caves were dwelling



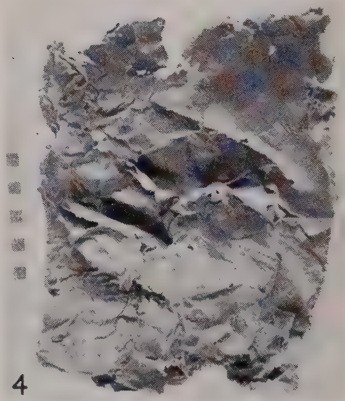
1. Al Muraba'at :
A Phylactery.



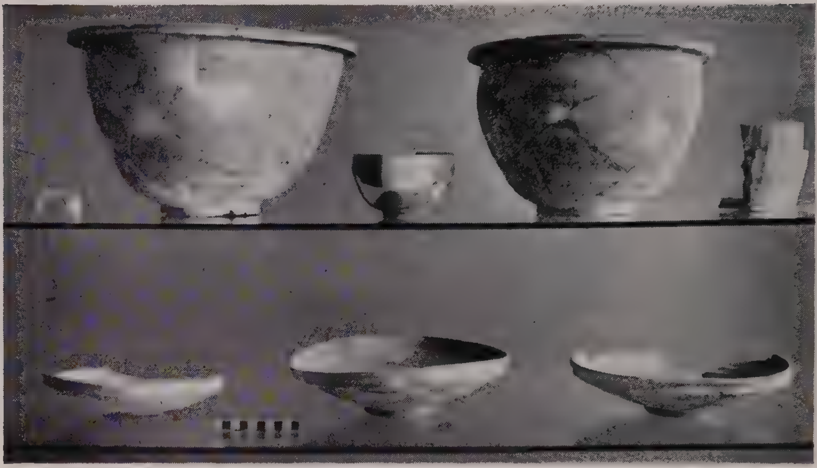
2. Al Muraba'at :
Inscribed fragment.



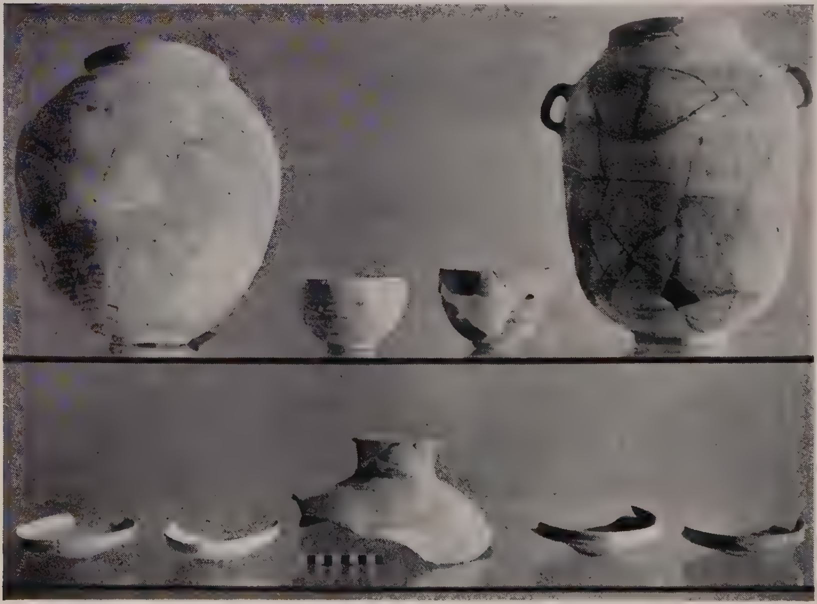
3. Al Muraba'at :
inscribed fragment.



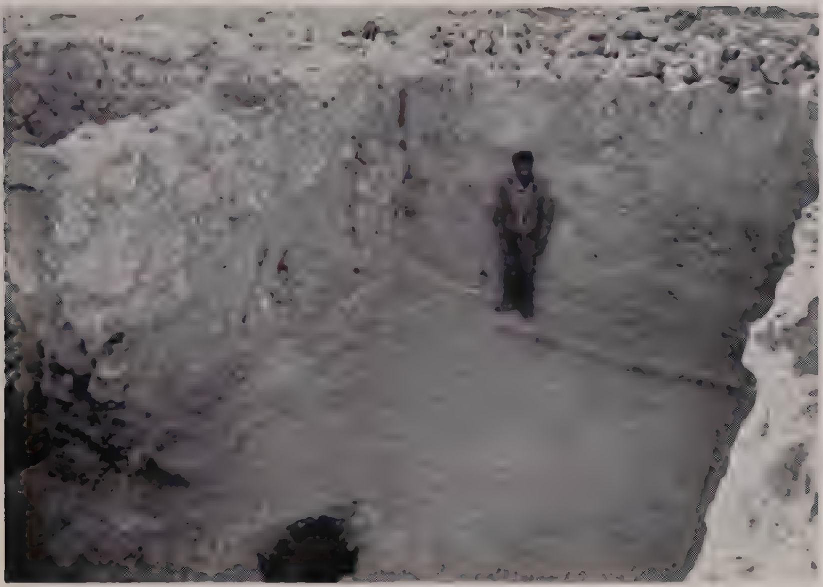
4. Al Muraba'at : Bag made
of two sheets of a Greek MS.



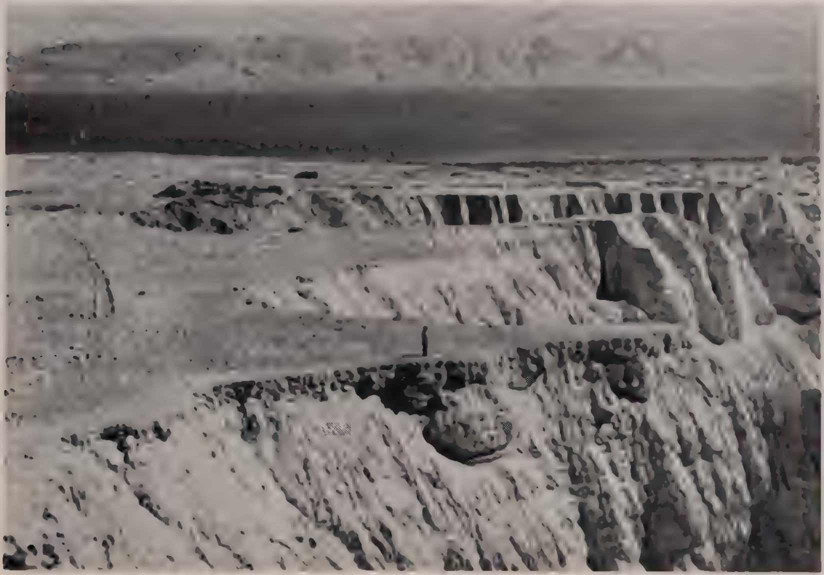
1. Khirbet Qumran: Some Pottery Types.



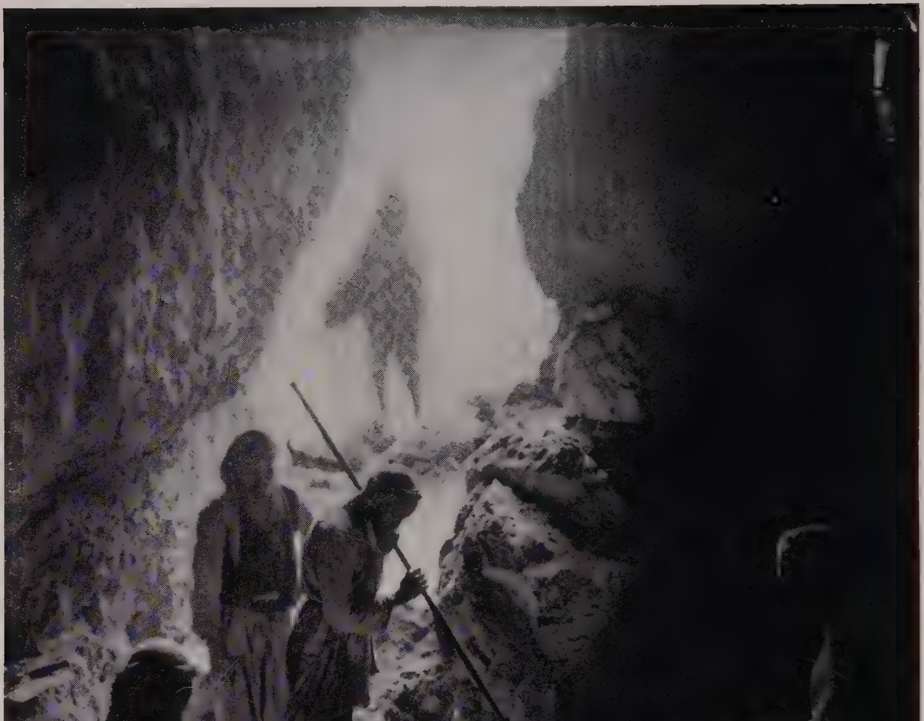
2. Khirbet Qumran: Some Pottery Types.



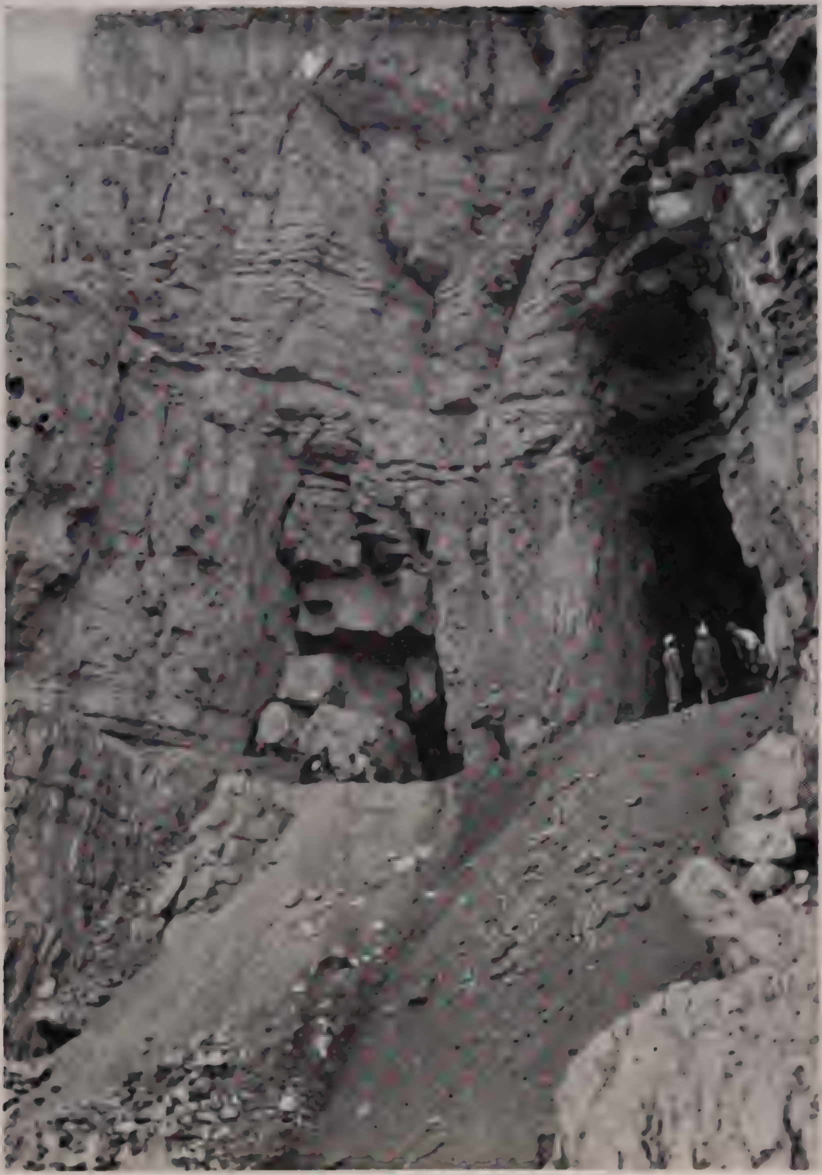
1. Kh. Qumran: Room with plaster floor and low benches all round; note blocked-up door on right of man.



2. Kh. Qumran: The pile of stones left centre is the main centre; note the aqueduct, left foreground.



Al Muraba‘at. Breaking up stones in Cave II.



Al Muraba'at. Cave I on the right, Cave II on the left. The blocking of the latter has been partly removed.

places. The nature of the documents from the two places emphasises this, and they are further widely separated in both space and time. That this new material is so closely dated in the second century A.D. is a very important factor, and will have considerable bearing on the dating of the Dead Sea Scrolls, particularly as we have fragments of Biblical books which in this case cannot well be later than the second century. Much study and work has yet to be done before we can properly assess the full value and importance of this unique discovery.

TELL EL FAR‘A BY NABLUS: A “MOTHER” IN ANCIENT ISRAEL

By JOHN GRAY

Since the summer of 1946 the distinguished archæologists of the Dominican monastery of St. Étienne in Jerusalem, R. P. P. De Vaux and Stève, have conducted excavations at Tell el Far‘a,[1] seven miles north-east of Nablus at the head of the Wadi Far‘a, “ Death Valley ” to the Turks in the Great War. The site was identified with Biblical Tirzah by Albright[2], and this identification was provisionally adopted by De Vaux and Stéve until their third campaign in 1950.[3] In that campaign, working in the three Iron Age strata, they found nothing to suggest the magnificence of a capital city, which Tirzah was until the foundation of Samaria by Omri early in the ninth century.[4] Moreover, the site shows no drastic break in occupation after that event, as the archæologists had earlier thought, and so they now express grave doubts as to Albright's location of Tirzah at Tell el Far ‘a.[5] This seems insufficient evidence on which to reject Albright's location. Before Omri's time there is nothing in the O.T. to suggest that the rulers of Israel stood on a high cultural plane. Nor is there any reason to suppose that, though Omri shifted the seat of government to Samaria, the local inhabitants and the chiefs of Tirzah deserted their ancestral home. In Judah, after all, Hebron did not sink into utter insignificance merely because David made Jerusalem his capital. The permanent significance of Tell el Far ‘a was fixed by Nature independent of man, and it would have been folly to desert such a site, standing as it did at the sources of the perennial Wadi Far‘a and on the most direct road from the heart of Israel to her Transjordanian territories. There is, however, indication of a decided change in the status of the city at the time when Samaria was founded. In the second phase of its history in the Iron Age De Vaux and Stève find that the ramparts and fortifications were neglected and the place became, in their own words, “ an open town.”[6] The first stratum of occupation terminates in a burnt level, which may be the remains of the fire started in despair by Zimri when confronted with the victorious troops of Omri.[7]

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[1] De Vaux and Stève, *Revue Biblique*, LIV, 1947, pp. 394–433 ; 573–589 ; LV, 1948, pp. 544–580 ; LVI, 1949, pp. 102–138; LVIII, 1951, pp. 393–431.

[2] Albright, *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, XI, 1931, pp. 241 ff.

[3] De Vaux and Stève, *R.B.* LVIII, 1951, p. 431.

[4] Tirzah is noted as a Canaanite ‘ royal ’ city in Joshua xii, 24. It became eventually the seat of Jeroboam I, I Kings xv, 17, and apparently continued as the capital of Israel until Omri defeated Zimri, I Kings xvi, 18.

[5] De Vaux and Stève, *R.B.* LVIII, 1951, p. 431.

[6] *ibidem* p. 423.

[7] I Kings xvi, 18.

Even apart from the identification of Tell el Far‘a with Tirzah, the excavation of the site has a definite value for O.T. study. Sufficient of the Western rampart and fortifications has been excavated to give an impressive illustration of a “ fenced city ” of Canaan and later of Israel. The gateway is of particular interest. It is a double-chambered gateway[8] which one had to enter by advancing along the foot of the ramparts, thereby exposing oneself to running fire from above, and that, too, from the right side, the warrior’s vulnerable side, since the shield was carried on the left arm. After forcing the first entrance the assailant could not forthwith rush the inner entrance, but had to make a right-angled turn, again to his exposed side, and then fight his way through two more barriers in the inner gate-chamber. It is surely a double gateway somewhat like this,[9] that is visualized in II Samuel, iii, 27, when Joab took Abner into the privacy of the gate of Hebron and there dispatched him.[10] This was, then, the gate of Israelite Tell el Far‘a, but it simply reproduced the features of the Middle and Late Bronze Age gateway. In this period the excavators suppose that they have found the remains of foundation sacrifices in the shape of two new-born infants buried in jars with smaller pots of the second phase of the Middle Bronze Age (nineteenth century).[11] The practice of immolating foundation sacrifices is still hypothetical, though we do think that there is sufficient evidence for the gruesome custom.[12] In this particular case the fact that the burials were not associated with others in private houses but were isolated in the open space “ within the gate ” certainly indicates that we have here an instance of the dedication of the fortifications by human sacrifice, to which the O.T. alludes in the case of Hiel the Bethelite who rebuilt Jericho in the time of Ahab. “ He laid the foundation thereof in Abiram his first-born, and set up the gates thereof in his youngest son Segub.[13]

The significance of the open space “ within the gate,” the scene of public business and gossip, is too familiar to the reader of the O.T. to need comment. At Tell el Far‘a, however, a feature is encountered which is less familiar. That is a stone basin, 50 cm. x 60 cm., together with a monolith standing 1 m. 80 cm. high. Here De Vaux and Stève see a laver and a *maṣṣebah*,[14] both distinctive features of the Canaanite sanctuary, and it is difficult to avoid their conclusion, since there is no building in the area for which the standing monolith would have served any function. There is evidence that the open area inside the city-gate was occasionally appropriated to a religious purpose. We recollect that it was in the vicinity of the gate of Samaria that the prophets functioned on the eve of Ahab's campaign against Ramoth Gilead,[15] and we believe that they did so as cultic officials. This scene is laid בַּגֹּרֶן פֶּתַח שַׁעַר שֹׁמְרוֹן, the first word of which is usually translated "on the threshing-floor." The vicinity of the gate, however, was a most unlikely place for a threshing-floor, and especially so at Samaria, where the gate is half-way down the hill and on the South of the city. If there had been a threshing-floor before the gate here the chaff and dust would have blown directly into the most public place with the prevailing wind. Now in the legend of *'Aqht* in the Ras Shamra texts there is a similar collocation of the gate and *grn* as the seat of judgment. The ancient king, *Dn' el* is depicted as taking his seat and dispensing justice

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[8] De Vaux and Stève, *R.B.*, LVIII, 1951, Plate VIII.

[9] Most of the great double gateways of the period have direct entrance. That at Tell en Nasbeh, which is approached along the rampart, like that at Tell Far‘a, has a flanking tower covering the entrance.

[10] In II Samuel iii, 27, אֶל־תּוֹךְ הַשַּׁעַר may refer to one or other of the gate-chambers. The LXX has a different sense in this passage and refers to *πληγίων τῆς πύλης*. This would suggest that the translator read יֶרֶךְ הַשַּׁעַר. If the latter reading were correct, the reference would be to shallow recesses which are found in the sides of the two chambers.

[11] These are buried within the gate-complex. *R.B.* LVIII, 1951, Plate V, tombs J and K, pp. 401–403.

[12] Macalister found such burials under the foundations of house walls at Gezer. *Gezer* II, 1912, pp. 426 ff., fig. 508. It is alternatively suggested that these are still-born infants, which are still in certain parts of the Near East buried under the floor of the dwelling-house. That the Gezer instances are foundation sacrifices is indicated by anthropomorphic figurines in bronze and silver, which Macalister found under the foundations of houses at Gezer (*op. cit.* II, pp. 433 ff., fig. 518) and by lamps, which were probably lit to symbolize life, and inverted bowls, which have been found in similar positions at various Palestinian sites, *op. cit.* II, pp. 434, fig. 516.

[13] I Kings xvi, 34.

. . . . b' ap tgr
tḥt 'adrm dbgrn.[16]

In this text and in I Kings, xxii, 10, we take *grn* not as "threshing-floor, but in its primary meaning of "hollow, open space," as the Arabic جرْن,[17] which is the impression that the open space within the gate would make by contrast with the buildings which bounded it. As primitive judgment was a sacred matter, we may well appreciate the laver and *maṣṣebah* "within the gate" of Tell el Far‘a.

The last phase of the Iron Age occupation of Tell el Far‘a has its own peculiar interest. A feature of this stratum (Level I in the excavators' enumeration) is certain round-based, carinated bowls with wide flaring rim, which are most distinctive.[18] Those have been found in Palestine, so far only at Samaria[19] and at Tell Jemmeh[20] on the Wadi Gaza, and are quite definitely not of Palestinian origin. In fact they have proved to be, as Sir Flinders Petrie conjectured, Assyrian ware and have recently been found to be very common in Upper Mesopotamia. Here Mallowan has been able to date the ware on the basis of his excavations at Nimrud (ancient Kalhu) to the second half of the eighth century.[21] Here, then, at Tell el Far'a and Samaria, and at Tell Jemmeh on the old military road to Egypt, we have concrete traces of the Assyrian colonists who were settled on the land on the fall and evacuation of Samaria.[22]

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[14] De Vaux and Stève, *R.B.* LVIII, 1951, p. 428.

[15] I Kings xxii, 10.

[16] Gordon, *Ugaritic Handbook* 2 Aqht, col. v, 6. I translate:

'. . . . at the entrance of the gate,
In the place of the notables who are in the piazza.'

In the second line the meaning of *tḥt* suggests the usage in I Samuel xiv, 9. The meaning of *'adrm*, 'notables', is suggested by a Punic text from Carthage, where אדרנם is the complement of צערנם. Slouszch, אוצר הכתובות הפניקיות, 1942, 137, 5.

[17] We find *grn* with the same sense in another Ugaritic text, Gordon: *op. cit.*, Keret 112, *bgrnt ḥpšt* and Keret 215, *wbgrnm ḥpšt*. I translate here 'Congregating in the open spaces.' Ḥpšt is not to be connected with the Hebrew חָפְשִׁי, but with the Arabic حفش, 'to congregate'.

[18] De Vaux and Stève, *R.B.* LVIII, 1951, fig. 12, 1, 2, 3, 4, 6. Plate XV, 1.

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[19] The pottery of Samaria is not yet published, but the ware in question is exhibited in the Palestine Museum.

[20] Petrie, *Gerar*, 1928, p. 23, Plate LXV. A bowl and dipper of the same shape but in bronze were found in tomb 817 at Tell el Far'a in the Wadi Gaza. Petrie, *Beth Pelet* I, 1930, pp. 14–15, Plate XLVII. Petrie's selection of the term 'Assyrian ware' was suggested by his identification of the bowls with a vessel on the sculpture of Assurbanipal's feasting scene. We may note, incidentally, that we agree with neither of Petrie's local identifications of Gerar or Beth Pelet.

[21] Mallowan, *Iraq*, XII, 1950, pp. 170, 183. Plate XXXII, 2. He terms this 'Palace Ware'. It is most common about 710–700, but apparently originated about the middle of the century. It goes back to a metal original, such as the objects from Tell el Far'a in the Wadi Gaza, which, with the Tell Jemmeh specimens, Petrie dates in the eighth century.

[22] II Kings xvii, 24 ff.

[Editorial note. Readers may refer to Professor Sidney Smith's article *The Threshing Floor at the City Gate,* P.E.Q., Jan.-April, 1946, pp. 5ff.]

NEW LIGHT ON ENDOR

By Nehemia Zori (Zimbalist)

Endor is mentioned three times in the Bible: In the division of the land of Israel between the tribes (Joshua xvii, 11); in the last war of king Saul, when he sought the counsel of Samuel against the Philistines (I Samuel xxviii,7); and the psalmist mentions Endor as a central point in the attacks of the numerous enemies of Israel, and especially as the place of the rout of the Midianites by Gideon and the Canaanites by Barak and Deborah (Psalm lxxxiii 11). All three references seem to point to one place, which must be in the vicinity of Mount Tabor in the Valley of Jezreel. Eusebius mentions the name of the place (Onomastica xxxiv, 8); at the time of the crusades it is referred to by Brocardus and Marino Sanuto; at the time of Ishtori Happarkhi the village existed and was said by him to be near Mount Tabor. Since then the name disappeared until the beginning of the nineteenth century when it reappeared in connection with the place Indur.

Until now tradition had it that the ancient Endor was to be found at the village of Indur which is on the northern slope of Giv'at Hamoreh which is called in sheet 18–22 of the Topocadastral Survey Map 1 : 20,000 by the name of El Jurus. Further, various travellers have been enthusiastic over the resemblance of the ancient and modern names and especially over the caves in the rocky slope, in one of which the witch of Endor was presumed to have lived. However, if we examine the place more closely it becomes clear that it is not suitable for Endor of the Israelites. Indur is not built on a tell and does not offer any decisive tactical advantage in either ancient or modern warfare: The place is not elevated above the surrounding ground as was the custom from Early Canaanite days and throughout the Israelite period. Indeed, Indur is outstandingly open to attack, especially from the south, from the ridge El-Jurus on whose slope it is. In the wretched huts of Indur which are made from mud and stones stuck to the openings of the caves in the slopes there is not found any ancient building material, and in the waste and ruin-heaps of the village there are not to be found any remains of ancient utensils of basalt and limestone, such as are to be met with in villages built on ancient sites. Furthermore there has not been found any ancient pottery which could give a clue to the history of the place.[1]

The place Indur is new and the Endor mentioned by Ishtory Happarkhi in the fourteenth century A.D.[2] apparently was not here. Moreover the travellers who visited the district a century ago did not find any settlement here. Burckhardt, passing in 1812, noticed "the ruins of" Endor[3]. E. Robinson who visited in 1852 says the place was "now deserted"[4]; though Tristram and Conder mention the village at its present emplacement.[5] On account of this uncertainty, the scholars of our generation have begun to look for Endor of the Bible outside the boundary of the traditional Indur. Dalman wanted to identify it with Jenin[6], Garstang with Tell el Ajjul[7]; but both these places are too far from Mount Tabor, more than the four Roman miles of Eusebius. In recent years Indur has been visited by A. Alt.[8] P. Abel, relying on the identification of Eusebius says that there are caves and a spring at the place[9]; Albright found there one ancient potsherd only and notes that there is no trace of a tell.[10] Accordingly, Indur cannot be Israelite Endor.

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[1] W. F. Albright, "From the Stone Age to Christianity," p. 20.

[2] כפתור ופרח, p. 292.

Ruins of Es-Safsafeh

In all the area near Indur there is no tell. Mount Jerus which rises above the valley to a height of 375 m. is a barren mass of Eocene formation. On its peak, which commands a large area from the southern Jordan valley to the hills of Galilee, the author has collected numerous flint implements which belong to the Later Palæolithic and Neolithic periods. The remains are in abundance on the slopes and are scattered over the fields at the mountain's base. No pottery fragments are to be found on the mountain.

The only possible ancient site in the vicinity of Indur appears to be Khirbet es-Safsafeh.

P.E.F. investigators who visited this place noted "a number of stones and unidentifiable buildings."[11] There is also a mosaic pavement which is noted somewhere in the files of the Department of Antiquities of Israel. The place is not marked on the 1 : 100,000 map, and on sheet 18–22 of the Topocadastral Survey there is marked "Ein es Safsafa" (Palestine Sheet IX, scale 1 : 63,360). Only the P.E.F. map of 1878, sheet IX, has here Kh. es Sufsafeh. The tell is lying on grid 18722275. It is small, with a surface area of about half an acre; its south side is ca. 2–3 m. high and the north side ca. 10–12 m. On the north end there are two terraces supported by walls made from basalt and limestone building stones. The tell stands by the source of a wady called in the Topocadastral map Wadi Ein es Safsafa, and in the P.E.F. map W. esh Sherrar. It is 1 km. north-east of Indur and about

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[3] J. L. Burckhardt, "Reisen in Syrien und Palästina," Weimar, 1824, p. 590.

[4] E. Robinson, "Later Biblical Researches in Palestine, 1852," p. 340.

[5] C. R. Conder, "Tent Work in Palestine," p. 122.

[6] G. Dalman, "Palästina-Jahrbuch," 1922–23, p. 41.

[7] J. Garstang, "Joshua and Judges," p. 93, 375.

[8] A. Alt, *P.J.B.*, 1927, p. 41, 42.

[9] P. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, II, p. 316.

[10] W. F. Albright, *B.A.S.O.R.* No. 11 (1923), p. 12.

[11] *S.W.P.*, II, p. 124.

5 km. south of Mount Tabor (four Roman miles approximately). Its surface is 128 m. above sea level.

Kh. es Safsafeh stands on one of the secondary routes from the east which crosses the Jordan, ascends Wady Bireh, passes by Mt. Tabor, continues southwards to Ain Sufsafeh and the tell, ascends farther along the wady which is between Giv'at Hamoreh to the east and Jebel Jurus on the west, and from there passes by way of W. es Sidr to Jezreel and from there eventually by way of W. Arah to the coast, or up to the Hill Country of Ephraim. The little tell dominates the entrances to both Wady Safsafeh and W. Sidr, and has a commanding view of the Mountains of Nazareth, Mount Hermon, part of Mount Canaan, the ridge of the Mountain of Ulam, Mount Tabor, and Wady Bireh, at the source of which it stands.

On the eastern part of the tell are citrus groves and other fruit trees watered by the spring, which is at its southern base. This spring is one of the sources of Wady Bireh (Kishon) ; travellers and writers in the Middle Ages were of the opinion that the source of the Kishon is at Endor. Barnabé also holds this opinion.[12]

MATERIAL REMAINS

On the summit of the tell and on its slopes are numerous building stones and others are to be found in walls and terrace walls nearby. On the north-eastern part of the summit stand five columns of limestone in two rows ; they are ca. 80 m.–1 m. thick and rectangular in section except for longitudinal groves running down their sides. The space between the rows is ca. 2 m. and distance from column to column ca. 1 m. (pl. XXXIII). Other well cut limestone blocks on the summit belong to a period more remote than that of the rest of the stones in the walls and terraces.

Palæolithic and Neolithic flint blades were collected on the tell and in the vicinity. It is not impossible that these come from the stone age settlement on the summit of Jebel Jurus. Especially to be noted is a beautiful sickle blade from the Bronze Age.

Most of the tell is thickly covered by a tangle of weeds and brush, which prevent effectual search for pottery. Only the western and especially the northern parts of the fruit grove at the base of the tell offered access. Accordingly all pottery was collected in these areas.

Early Bronze Age. Ledge-handle, with finger impression in its edge, similar to those found in all ancient settlements of this period. Flat bases and the rim of hole mouth jars, potsherds with " Grain Wash."

Middle Bronze Age. A potsherd from a bowl very similar to those found at Shechem, Jericho, T. el Ajjul and at Megiddo and Tell Beit Mirsim during this period.[13]

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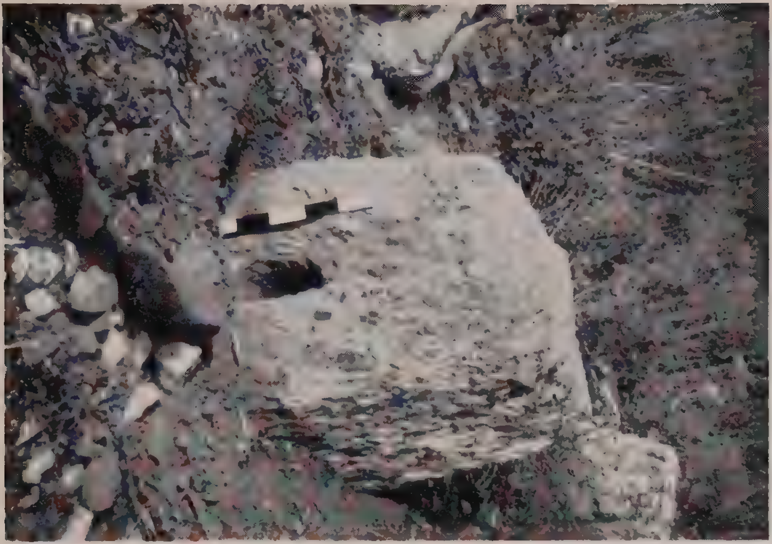
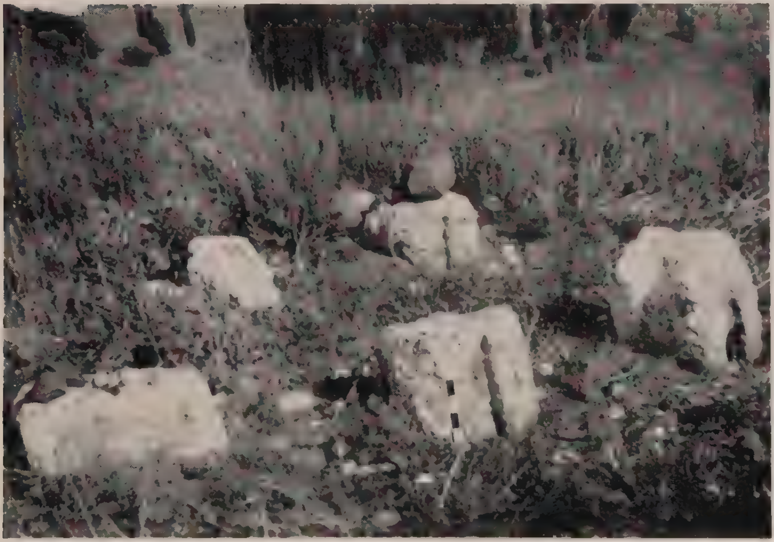
[12] P. Barnabé, " Le Mont Thabor," p.22, note 3 ; p. 161, 162, note 2.

[13] W. F. Albright, *A.A.S.O.R.* XIII, pl. 8 (E) : 14 ; p. 77, 78, §30.



1. North-eastern pillar of building at Kh. es-Safsafeh.



2. The building at Kh. es-Safsafeh. View from S.E.

Late Bronze Age. Handle of " pilgrim flask " similar to those found at Megiddo, Tell Beit Mirsim and at Beth-Shemesh.[14]

Iron Age. Rims and handles of cooking pots similar to those found at Megiddo, Beth Shemesh, Gibea of Saul, Tell Beit Mirsim, Mizpah and other places during the Israelite period.[15] Rims of burnished bowls, red inside and outside similar to those found at Beth Shemesh, Gibea of Saul, Askalon and Tell Beit Mirsim from the period of the Israelite monarchy[16]; also ring bases from this period. One jar handle has a somewhat triangular section and is similar to one found at Beth-Shemesh and considered to be from the Israelite period.[17]

Roman Period. Sherds of Terra Sigillata.

Byzantine and Arab Periods. Many fragments of pottery.

SUMMARY

Khirbet es Safsafeh was occupied during the Early, Middle and Late Bronze Age and flourished during the Israelite period, from the time of the settlement of the tribes up to and during the days of the monarchy. During the Exile the place was abandoned, and was again occupied from the first century A.D. till the eight century A.D. During all these periods the site was an agricultural settlement but also a strongpoint on the route connecting Galilee and Gilead with Ephraim and Judah. It may be supposed that the name Endor was transferred by the villagers when they moved to a new location on the slope of Jebel el Jurus, 1 km. away, in the hope that the name would protect them.

There are many places in Palestine where the ancient name was transferred by the Arabs from the original site, to a new one : Cp. the transferring of the name " Gezer " to " al Jizri," or " Eglon " to " Sheikh Ajlan " or " Rehob ", in the Beisan valley to Sheikh er Rihab one mile south of Tell es Sarim.

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[14] Elihu Grant, "Ain Shems Excavations," Part IV, plate LV : 10.

[15] W. F. Albright, *A.A.S.O.R.* IV, p. 10, pl. XXIV C, 1 ; *A.A.S.O.R.*, XII, pl. LVI (A) 3.

[16] W. F. Albright, *A.A.S.O.R.* IV, p.11,12, pl. XXVI G, 27 ; *A.A.S.O.R.* XXI–XXII, pl. 21 : 10.

[17] E. Grant, *op. cit.* Part IV, pl. LXV, 16, 20.

A FRAGMENT IN AN UNKNOWN SCRIPT

By S. A. Birnbaum

The first account that was published about the Wadi Muraba'ât finds spoke of " manuscripts . . . apparently in Hebrew and Aramaic but written in a type of cursive hitherto unknown and therefore very difficult to read." (*Manchester Guardian*, April 7, 1952.) When the Editor of our Quarterly sent me the photograph reproduced on pl. XXIV, 2 and suggested that I should let him have a note on it, I realised with a thrill that this must be the manuscript (or one of the manuscripts) in question, for I was not able to read it.

The script was clearly of the Aramaic group, but to which branch could it belong? Examination revealed that it was not a form of Pahlavi, and that the northern Aramaic branch could also be eliminated.

The writing of the fragment did not look like any of the southern branch either: Palmyrene, Hebrew, Nabatæan, Arabic. However, we had known them—apart from Hebrew—from inscriptions and graffiti only. Could the new script perhaps be a handwritten cursive of one of them?

In a separate article—ready for publication—I have attempted to answer this question by means of a detailed investigation. I shall confine myself here to the result: The writing is related to Nabatæan but it would perhaps be safer to call it a parallel branch rather than simply Nabatæan cursive. My date for the manuscript is roughly the first century C.E.

To decipher the script has been by no means a simple task and certain letters may have to be identified differently.

I have not arrived at a smooth, self-evident text—in view of the scantiness of the material and its state of preservation, that would have been surprising. A slightly better result might have been possible if the original had been available to me. It might then, e.g., have turned out that some of the black parts of the photograph, which looked as if they belonged to letters, were merely holes. Perhaps, too, it would have been possible to make out more of the mutilated writing on the right and left-hand edges, as well as on the creases which have broken the writing of lines 3, 10 and 12. A real improvement, however, could, I think, only have been achieved with the aid of additional material. It is to be hoped that there really are some additional fragments in this script (i.e., that the plural " manuscripts " in the above-quoted passage was not a slip or misprint).

Here is my provisional transliteration (א represents א in final position) :

1 [• • ה • • • • די • • • • חדהע]
2 [מנשהקׂבצׂ אל⁞שוב]
3 [תהואל⁞לאחה נ⁞⁞ן]
4 [• • ל⁞קׂנ • • • • בׂבׂ⁞ • • •]
5 [• • בטביע ב • • • • • • •]
6 [ה⁞אפ⁞מאמ תשׂ]
7 [לב⁞תע למהׂ תהך]
8 [סׂראה⁞אמבנן • •]
9 [• • בׂלוןאוהןאנהלבת]
10 [ימתינה⁞מבסׂ⁞א]
11 [ארמלודילאק ב • •]
12 [ך • • • • אחראין • • • •]
13 [ייכׂדהׂורתׂוע • • • • • •]
14 [לובשטרא • • • •]
15
16 [בשבע • • •]
17 [בא • • • • • •]
18 [קבצׂאלו]

Line 1 : די *which.* חדה *one?*

Line 2 : מנשה *Manasseh ?* Or could the word possibly be connected with (*a*) *to forget* or (*b*) *women ?* Could קבצאל be a theophorous name ? (*'l* is not necessarily Jewish.)

Line 3 : תהוא impf. sg. 3rd f. or 2nd of הוא *to be.* If לו is the correct reading, could it perhaps be the same as Talmudical לאו *is not ?* The next word cannot be לא, otherwise the aleph would have the final form.

Line 5 : טבע *to sink, to coin,* etc. ? The end of the line is taken up by something that looks like the figures in the Beth Phage graffiti,[1] or in the Pahlavi papyri from Egypt.[2] If it is a figure, might not the preceding sign, which I could not identify as a letter, also be a figure ? It only vaguely resembles the Nabatæan *100* or the *100* of older Aramaic, but there is a chance that it represents the one or the other. If the beth in front of it were meant to function as a numeral—2 x 100—it would be an exceptional combination of a figure and an alphabetic numeral.

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[1] Syria 4 : 241, Journ. Pal. Or. Soc. 4 : 171, Rev. Bibl. 1923 : 352.

[2] O. Hansen, Abhandl. Preuss. Ak.W. 1938.

Line 7: It looks as if something had happened to the letter after the mem. Could it be a non-final aleph connected with the mem by a blot? The letter seems to be too tall for a non-final aleph as compared with other specimens; these are decidedly short, apart from a medium-sized one (l.6). In addition, if it were a non-final aleph, it could not have been used at the end of a word. Nor can it be read as the beginning of the subsequent word. Could it perhaps be a crippled hê? The right downstroke would have been shortened in order to avoid crossing the downstroke of the mem, and the left-hand downstroke of the presumed hê would accordingly have been pushed to the left. Could we then read לבית עלמה תהך *to her eternal home she will go?* The expression is known to us from Phœnician, Palmyrene, Midhrash, Talmud and Bible.

Line 8: ואמ *and mother?* בנן *daughters?*

Line 9: לון might be ל with suff. 3rd pl., the hê having dropped out, as it frequently does in Palestinian Aramaic. Or is the preceding letter by any chance a beth? It would then be open to us to reconstruct the word as [יק]בלוך 'they will/shall receive'. או הן אנה *or if I?* (It seems very improbable that we have here scriptio defectiva for אינה *he/she is not.*)

Line 10: ימתינה 'he will/shall await him/her/it'.

Line 11: ארמלו די לא *widowhood that not.* If the black mark after ב denotes traces of a letter then we cannot restore קב[ל···.

Line 12: אחראין *responsible?*

Line 14: בשטרא *in the deed.*

Line 17: The writing starts somewhere in the middle of the original line. This, in conjunction with the apparently blank line preceding it, suggests that we have here the date of a document: בשבע] *on the 17th.* The reading *17* seems to be more likely than 7, because there is no yodh between beth and ayin. In Nabatæan it could not be 17, because there the tens precede the units.

Line 18: If קבעאל were a name it might be the signature.

All this together does not go very far towards elucidating the contents of our fragment. Words like שטר (l.14) and אחראי (l.12), the possible occurrence of a date in a special position (l.16), or of even a signature (l.18), might point to something of a legal nature. The mention of widowhood (l.11) and of future death (l.7; perhaps the contingency of future death) would suggest the possibility of a marriage document. Other hints of a legal or business character might be found in l.5, if *coined* is mentioned there, and if the signs are figures, and in l.1, if the reading *one* is correct.

Whatever the contents, the fragment is of unique interest from the palæographical point of view.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Beginning in Archæology by K. M. Kenyon. Phoenix House Ltd., London.

Inevitably, " Beginning in Archæology " invites comparison with other manuals of advice and admonition on the subject, of which the earliest, " Methods and Aims " by Flinders Petrie, appeared in 1904. For over twenty years it was the only detailed text-book published in England. Methods have developed since then, as they should do in the light of half a century's experience, but the aims formulated by the " Father of Archæology " are as sound and true as ever.

During the first World War, J. P. Droop contributed an essay to the Cambridge and Ethnological Series on " Archæological Excavation," which gained some indulgent notoriety through the author's courteous aversion to the inclusion of women in field excavations. Both Petrie and Droop dealt in the main with the special problems of the Near East, and it fell to R. J. C. Atkinson to produce in 1946 a competent and complete account, based on work in Britain.[1]

No one could be more fitted to explain field technique than Miss Kenyon, for she has specialised in stratigraphy, on which all other deductions depend ; no one could be more experienced for she has dug in Britain, Palestine, Jordan and North Africa, and has encountered the obstacles and rewards of many different fields.

It is therefore somewhat disappointing to find that she has chosen to devote a third of the book to general remarks and historical outlines, and has stopped short when she could be most useful and informative. She makes no attempt to bridge the immense gap between the field notebook and the published report, though she rightly emphasises in her conclusion that " excavation however well executed, without adequate publication is wanton destruction."

In view of the need to produce a report within a reasonable time, Miss Kenyon should, perhaps, have warned the aspiring beginner of the tasks which follow happy days in the field.

Plans, drawings and photographs must be made and checked, illustrations prepared in plate form, comparable material discussed and endless details considered. Though the novice may not be capable of a great share, he or she should—under supervision—take some part in these essential phases. Only in so doing can the beginner realise how the results of his particular excavation find a place in the panorama of history.

It is clear that Miss Kenyon did not intend to write a complete text-book ; instead, she has outlined the facilities for training and the possibilities of a career in a science which has now become a profession. No longer can it be said, as Petrie complained in the Preface to his book, that Archæology "has to find shelter with the Fine Arts or with History and not a single home has yet been provided for its real growth."

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[1] " Field Archæology," by R. J. C. Atkinson. Methuen. 1946.

That home is the Institute of Archæology in Regent's Park, and besides the University of London, of which it forms part, over a dozen universities in Britain offer courses on some branch of Archæology. For those who are suitably qualified, there are some academic and administrative posts, with very modest pecuniary reward. Others may prefer and be well advised to take up the subject as an absorbing hobby, but whatever they decide, they cannot fail to profit from the author's rich experience and skill in the field.

OLGA TUFNELL.

Eretz-Israel. Archæological, Historical and Geographical Studies. Volume one. Dedicated to PROFESSOR M. SCHWABE on his sixtieth birthday. Israel Exploration Society, Jerusalem, 1951. Pp. 12–184, $8\frac{1}{2} \times 10\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Numerous plates and illustrations in the text. Price £3 12s. 6d.

With an imposing volume, in *Eretz-Israel I*, the Israel Exploration Society has started a new periodical publication ; this is in addition to its *Bulletin*, which in itself is an excellent quarterly journal dedicated mainly to archæological subjects. The new volume contains twenty-seven contributions, all in Hebrew, by leading students in Palestinian archæology and allied subjects. The volume, dedicated to Professor M. Schwabe—the distinguished classicist of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, and leading authority on Judæo-Greek epigraphy—also contains the bibliography of the writings of this scholar, consisting of 138 items, apart from the publications of which he was editor or co-editor.

Being unable to deal in detail with all the articles, we may single out those concerned with archæological, epigraphic and historical matters.

The first article, by Dr. M. Stekelis, deals with an important prehistorical phase of civilisation which he terms the *Yarmukian Culture.* In 1943, Dr. S. Yeivin, Professor B. Maisler and Stekelis himself excavated the triangle bounded by the Sea of Galilee in the North, the Jordan in the West, and the river Yarmuk in the South, and discovered remains of this culture. This same subject was previously dealt with by Dr. Stekelis in a previous publication (*A New Neolithic Industry—The Yarmukian of Palestine*, Jerusalem, 1951), reviewed in P.E.Q., July–October, 1951, pp. 176–8.

Palestinian archæology is represented by the contributions of five scholars. Dr. Ruth Amiran, writing on *Water Supply by Tunnels*, discusses the six tunnels discovered in Palestine : the Siloam tunnel of Hezekiah, the Megiddo tunnel, the Ophel tunnel discovered by Warren, and the tunnels of Gibeon, Gezer, and Yible'am. Dr. Amiran does not bring into review the Great Shaft discovered at Lachish, which apparently was never completed. Dr. I. Ben-

Dor, in his article on *A Canaanite Temple at Nahariya*, deals with his excavation of this temple, dug in 1947 ; his main report appeared in the Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine, XIV, pp. 1 ff.

Professor B. Maisler writes on *The Excavations at Tell Qasîle*. It is his second preliminary report on the first two seasons, completed at the end of September, 1949. He distinguishes twelve strata, beginning with the Arabic and Byzantine, and going down through the Roman and Persian levels to the Israelite and Early Iron B-1 of the Philistine period. Of special interest are the two Early Hebrew ostraca, which can be read and explained, though with some difficulty, *lmlk. ’l . . . shmn. wm ’ḥ . . . ḥyhw* and *zhb. ’pr. lbyt. ḥrn./sh*☰. These two ostraca were found in 1945 and 1946 on the surface of the *tell*, but the excavator assigns them quite rightly to level VII (Israelite period, eighth century B.C.). The form of some letters would favour, however, the early eighth century or perhaps even the late ninth. Curiously enough, a third object inscribed in Early Hebrew character, was also found on the surface of the *tell*. It is a seal, square in form and made of limestone. Apart from the inscription, it shows the figure of a man holding a bird, all enclosed within a square border, similar to Diringer, *Iscrizioni*, Pl. XIX. The reading *‘shnyhw ‘bd hmlk* is accepted as correct, but the poor, irregular, and non-uniform letters induce Maisler to suggest a very late date : end of the sixth century B.C. or the beginning of the fifth ; in effect, he assigns the seal to the Persian period. Assuming, however, that the seal is genuine, there is nothing to prevent us assigning it either to a much earlier or to a much later date. Dr. Maisler's first report published in English by the Israel Exploration Society appeared in 1950. (The Tell Qasîle excavations have also been dealt with briefly in Mr. B. S. J. Isserlin's article *Some Archæological News from Israel*, P.E.Q., July–October, 1950, pp. 92–101.)

Professor A. Reifenberg, in his interesting article *Mount Gerizim*, tries to reconstruct the history of the Samaritan sanctuary and altar of Mount Gerizim. He rightly emphasizes the importance of air photographs for the identification of early remains. Finally, Dr. S. Yeivin, writing on *The Tunnel in the Lachish Glacis*, expresses the view that while the tunnel may belong to the period of the siege of Lachish by Sanherib's troops (701 B.C. ?), at least some portions of the external walls of the city were repaired during the reign of Manasseh, who in the last days of his rule tried to enlarge the frontiers of Judah and to free her from the yoke of the Assyrians.

In the field of Semitic epigraphy, N. Avigad contributes the article *Some New Readings of Hebrew Seals*, in which he suggests corrected readings of four Hebrew seals or seal-impressions. His reading of one of these seals was published by him in P.E.Q., January–April, 1950, pp. 43–46. The other three instances are Diringer, *Iscrizioni*, No. 35, which he reads *l ‘bdyhw/bn/tḥrhw* instead of *l ‘bdyhw (bn) shḥrḥr* ; Reifenberg, P.E.Q., 1938, pp. 114 and 115, which he reads respectively *lmsh‘ // ‘d’l* and *mky yqmyh* instead of *lysh‘ ‘d’l* and *mky shqnyh*. While Avigad's suggestions are undoubtedly plausible, it would have been not inappropriate to publish the photographs of the seals, as the reader might well be interested to form an independent judgment on the particular points.

The late Professor U. D. M. Cassuto, in his article on *The Rise of Historiography in Israel*, tries to prove that Herodotus, who is still considered by some scholars as the " father " of historiography, was anticipated by five hundred years by the historians of ancient Israel. This early Hebrew historiography, which he assigns to the period of Solomon, was however (like Greek historiography) preceded by very early epic poetry, consisting of sacred hymns, tribal legends, heroic poetry, etc. Various marks of this epic poetry may be traced in the Biblical story of the *Exodus*. Logographers or annalists, writing in prose, were the link connecting the early narrative poetry with the early historiography.

A. Malamat (*The Historical Background of Two Prophecies on The Nations*) examines *Zech.* ix, 1–8, and *Jer.* xlvii. In the former he finds an echo of the expeditions of Sargon (*c.* 720 B.C.) against Tyre, Damascus, Hamat, Samaria, and other places ; the latter would refer to the Scythian attack on Philistia in 609 B.C. Of great historical interest are the essays by Professor Melamed (a comparison of *Josephus* and *Maccabees I*), by A. Schalit (on *Alexander Yannai's Conquest in Moab*) and A. Tscherikower (on *Was Jerusalem a Greek Polis under the Procurators?*).

Ch. Wirszubski (*Some Aspects of Syncretism in the Hellenistic East*) deals with an important question of the history of religion. Semitic philology is represented by Professor N. H. Tur-Sinai's (Torczyner) excellent article on *Azazel*, while Z. Ben-Hayyim's essay on *The Third Person Plur. Fem. in Old Aramaic*, examines an epigraphic-philological problem. Historical topography is represented by Dr. M. Avi-Yonah's learned essay on *The Missing Fortress of Josephus Flavius*. Finally, Professor M. Z. Segal suggests a new theory for the solution of *Problems of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, for which see his later article in J.B.L. lxx, 1951, pp. 131 ff.

The late G. Allon (*The Testament of R. Meir*), Dr. D. Amiran (*The Lydda Epicentre and the Coastal Bend at Jaffa*), Professor S. Assaf (*Tyrian Documents of the 11th Century*), Dr. S. Bodenheimer (*Silk and Silk-weaving in Palestine*), Dr. J. Braslawski (*Genizah Fragments concerning Acre and Byblos*), Dr. J. Gutman (*Egypt as Vision and Reality in Ancient Greek Literature*), Dr. J. W. Hirschberg (*Notes on Debts of the Jews of Jerusalem in 1775*), Dr. J. Kaplan (*A Jewish Lead Weight from Ashdod*), Prof. L. A. Mayer (*Aṣ-Ṣinnabra*), and Dr. J. Prawer (*On Agriculture under the Crusaders*) contributed articles, not all of which fall directly within the fields of the present reviewer, but all will no doubt be read with profit by experts in one branch or another.

Altogether, these essays constitute a rich volume. Not all the articles are of equal merit or equally convincing, but all are worth reading, and all will amply repay study. Those who are interested in scholarship concerning the Near East, and especially Palestine, will obtain a copy of this most important work.

DAVID DIRINGER

SABATINO MOSCATI, *L'epigrafia ebraica antica* 1935–1950 (Biblica et Orientalia —N 15. Sacra Scriptura Antiquitatibus Orientalibus Illustrata), Pontificio Istituto Biblico, Rome, 1951; pp. xix–123; plates I–XXXIV; 7½ by 9½ inches; price L.it.4,200.

This excellent volume well illustrates the surprises that archæological and epigraphical discoveries have in store for the student of ancient Israel, for the Biblical scholar, the archæologist and the epigraphist. The present volume is a kind of *Corpus* of the early Hebrew inscriptions discovered or studied in the period from 1935 to 1950. " The year 1935 has been chosen as a point of departure, because " the present reviewer's book dealing with the early Hebrew inscriptions appeared in the previous year. Yet, in those fifteen years, the spade of the archæologist has uncovered important new documents, while others have been discovered casually. Notwithstanding the author's omission of the Lachish ostraca—which are undoubtedly by far the most important find during this period—he has succeeded in adding some 135 new objects to the material already known from general publications. The Lachish ostraca have not been included partly because they have already been edited twice by Prof. Torczyner (Tur-Sinai), while another official edition is in the Press, and partly because the author could not afford the excessive copyright-fee for the reproduction of the photographs of the Lachish Letters.

In the *Introduction* (pp. 1–7) Prof. Moscati gives a brief account of (*a*) *Excavations and Publications in Palestine*, and (*b*) the development of the *Early Hebrew Script*; in both sections the subject is brought up-to-date, so that the *Leviticus* fragments in early Hebrew writing, which have been discovered with the Dead Sea Scrolls, come within the scope of the work. In Chapter I, the author discusses the recent studies of the Gezer Calendar (pp. 8–26), and agrees with its dating to the tenth century B.C. Chapter II is dedicated to the Samaria Ostraca (pp. 27–39); particularly interesting here are the problems of the identification of the place-names mentioned in the ostraca, and of the date of the inscriptions. On this question of date, Moscati would prefer to accept Maisler's suggestion, that is, to assign the ostraca to the reign of Joachaz (814–798 B.C.). In Chapter III, the author discusses critically the new readings and interpretations suggested for some words of the Siloam inscription, and in Chapter IV, he examines Sukenik's and Torczyner's new readings of the Ophel Ostracon.

Much material not appearing in general publications is presented in Chapters V (*Seals*, pp. 47–71), VI (*Jar-handle Stamps*, pp. 72–98), VII (*Weights*, pp. 99–105), VIII (the *Ivories from Samaria*, pp. 106–110), and IX (*New Miscellanea Inscriptions*, pp. 111–116). The main details (summary description, place of finding and of preservation, reading of the inscription, the probable or attributed date, and bibliographical information) are indicated for each subject. The author deals in detail with the following material, which has come to light after the publication of the reviewer's *Iscrizioni*: 44 seals, 33

" private " jar-handle stamps, 298 " royal " jar-handle stamps, 22 weights, 26 ivories from Samaria, and 13 new miscellaneous inscriptions. Moreover, the author passes in review all the recent studies dealing with the early Hebrew seals, jar-handle stamps, and weights, which had already been published in *Iscrizioni*. Three excellent indices—a general index, an index of Hebrew names and words, and an index of Biblical references—as well as a comparative table of alphabets, will prove very useful.

In this work as a whole, we have a handy volume marked by careful scholarship, and independent and balanced judgment. The author's survey, deftly handling the numerous discordant theories, is—so far as the reviewer can judge—complete. Students of every level will wish to consult this work; scholars interested in Semitic epigraphy and Biblical archæology will find the book indispensable.

Prof. Moscati, who teaches at the Universities of Rome and Florence, is already known for his *Storia e Civiltà dei Semiti*, Bari, 1949. Following on *L'epigrafia ebraica antica*, he has published now in " Atti dell'Accademia Florentina di Scienze Morali ' La Colombaria ' ", 1952, an article on *Stato e problemi dell'epigrafia ebraica antica*, which is marked by an admirable sense of perspective, and is a welcome companion to his book.

DAVID DIRINGER.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks the following :—

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*" *The Enclosed Garden*," by Knut Stenring, 1952.
*" *Histoire de la Palestine*," by F. M. Abel. Volume II, 1952.

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*" *The Hebrew Scrolls,*" by Professor G. R. Driver, 1951.
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Seventh and Eighth Report of the Institute of Archæology. 1952.

All items marked with a * are books.

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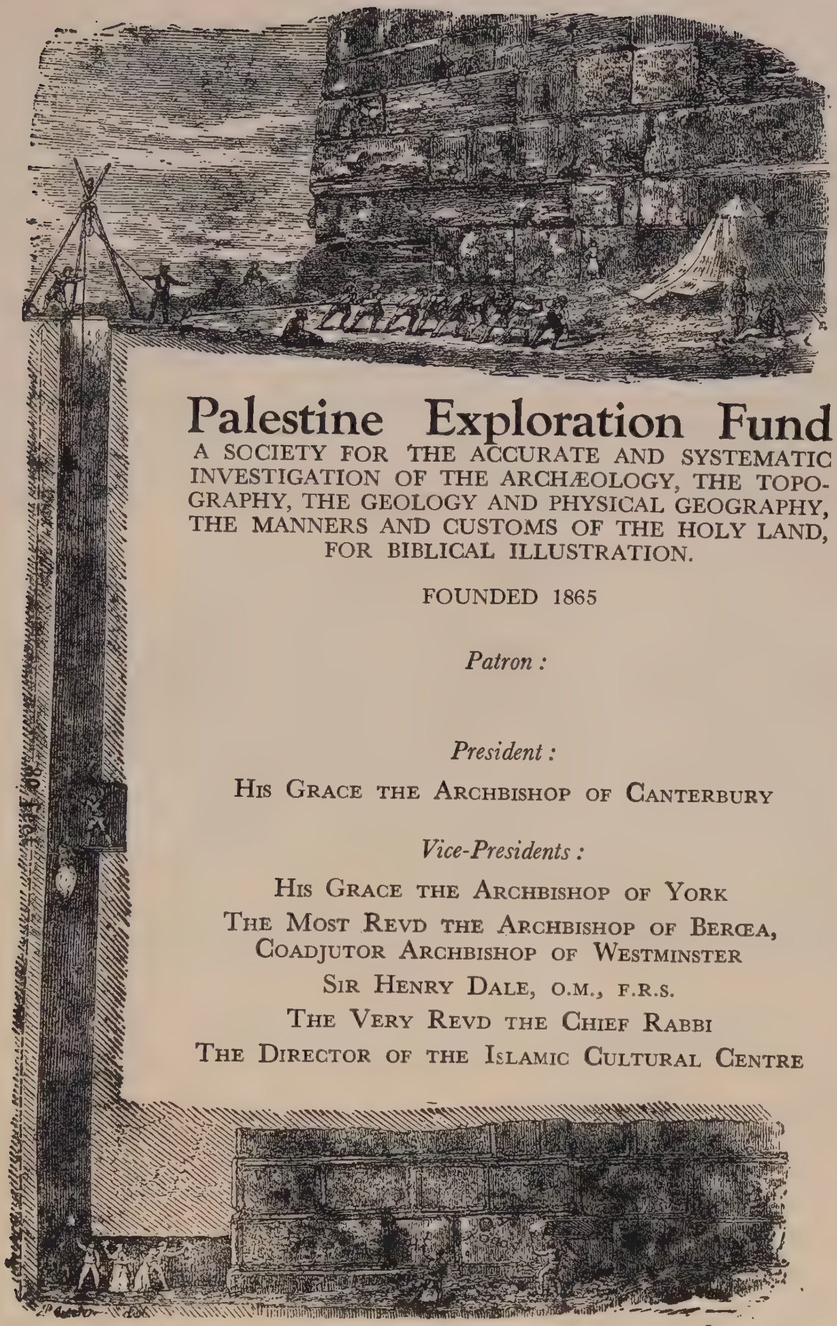

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NOTES AND NEWS

As this issue goes to press the sad news of Dr. Sukenik's death has just reached us. An obituary notice will appear in the October issue.

The torrent of literature relating to the Scrolls continues to flow on unabated. Among the latest contributions are to be welcomed two from the fertile pen of Professor H. H. Rowley. These are a book and a monograph: the book, published by Basil Blackwell, is entitled *The Zadokite Fragments and the Dead Sea Scrolls*. It is a careful and fully documented discussion of the relation between the fragments discovered by Dr. Schechter in the Cairo Genizah and published in 1910, and the so-called Sectarian Documents, namely, the Habakkuk Commentary, the Manual of Discipline, and The War between the Children of Light and the Children of Darkness. The list of works consulted occupies 37 pages and contains over 800 entries, a monument to Professor Rowley's vast industry. The monograph is entitled *The Covenanters of Damascus and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, contains 44 pages, and is a reprint from the Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, September, 1952. Both will be found invaluable to students of the Scrolls.

In the *Jewish Quarterly Review* for October, 1952, Dr. Zeitlin returns to the charge with a new theory about the origin of the Torah scrolls. He now suggests that they are relics of the great library of Judah Bibas in Hebron which was looted and partly burned during the pogrom of 1929. They would have been brought to St. Mark's Monastery after the disaster and remained there in a suit-case for about 20 years; this would agree with Mr. Hamilton's statement as reported by Dr. Trever (cf. *P.E.Q.*, 1949, p. 115). Dr. Zeitlin adds to this the conjecture that the bronze rolls described in Notes and News in the previous issue of this journal are a part of the casings of the Torah rolls which he assumes to have been part of the loot from Hebron and deposited in St. Mark's Monastery; how we are not told. However, as the fragments found in the excavation of the Ain Feshkha or Muraba‘at caves have conclusively proved that the documents known as the Dead Sea Scrolls did come from those caves, so, when the bronze rolls have been unrolled and examined, we shall be able to test the truth of Dr. Zeitlin's hypothesis. Meanwhile, as Professor Rowley has shown, the general consensus of scholarly opinion accepts the genuineness of the statements about the locality in which the scrolls were found, and tends to adopt a mediating position between the very early dates assigned to the scrolls in the first flush of excitement caused by the discovery, and the medieval dates maintained by Zeitlin and his followers. The most recent discoveries in the fresh caves explored by Harding and de Vaux suggest a date in the early part of the 2nd century A.D.

In addition to the rapidly increasing number of journals dealing with the archaeology of the ancient Near East, a newcomer has recently made its appearance to which we extend a hearty welcome. It is published in Uppsala under the title *Orientalia Suecana*, and the names of Engnell, Haldar, and Widengren on the editorial board guarantee the quality and standard of its contents. The first number contains articles in English, French, and German. There is an important article on *Pasaḫ-Maṣṣot and the Problem of Patternism*, by Professor Engnell, and a very interesting one on the much-discussed wall-painting from the Palace of Mari, by A. Haldar. We wish the new venture every success.

Another new venture of a different, but most useful, character is the *International Review of Biblical Studies*, published by the Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, Stuttgart. It contains first a numbered list of all the most important European and American journals in alphabetical order to the number of 393 entries, followed by a list of all articles of any significance which have appeared in these journals during 1950–1. The articles are classified, and in the case of the more important articles an abstract of their contents is given. The entries are listed under the authors' names, with date and index number of the journal in which each article has appeared. The abstracts are in German. A few omissions have been observed, but such a compilation will be of immense service to scholars, especially to those who love to multiply footnotes!

The *B.A.S.O.R.* for December, 1952, contains an important article by H. E. Wright, Jnr., containing an account of a valuable physiographic study of three open sites in the Chemchemal Plain, north-eastern Iraq, carried out by the Oriental Institute and the American Schools of Oriental Research. The results should be of considerable importance when correlated with other geologically or climatically dated sites in Syria or Palestine. The same issue has a report of the excavation of the Temple of the Moon at Marib (Yemen), by F. P. Albright.

Another sensational discovery of a deposit of ancient manuscripts was made in Egypt a year before the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls overshadowed all other finds. An entire library of Gnostic writings, thirteen codices in all, was discovered by peasants, probably in a cave, near el-Qasr es-Sayyad, the ancient Chenoboskion. The manuscripts are all in Coptic, in an early form of Sahidic, and are probably the oldest Coptic documents yet known. They are in the hands of the Egyptian government, which has entrusted them to a committee with a view to publication. Those scholars who have seen the codices assign them to a date between the middle of the 3rd and the end of the 4th century A.D. An account of what is so far known about these documents is given in the latest number of the *Biblical Archaeologist*, December, 1952.

An article of considerable interest by M. Avi-Yonah appears in the *Israel Exploration Journal*, vol. 2, no. 2, under the title of *Mount Carmel and the God of Baalbek*. Dr. Avi-Yonah gives evidence for the existence of a god Carmel and for the presence in the 3rd century A.D. of a statue on Mount Carmel dedicated to the Heliopolitan Zeus (god of) Carmel. He proceeds to show that underlying the cult on Carmel of the Heliopolitan Zeus lies the ancient cult of the god Hadad as Baal of Carmel; the cult may have been introduced by Ahab's Tyrian wife, and was challenged by Elijah as related in the immortal story of the scene on Carmel in I Kings 18. There is much other material of interest in the same number of this valuable journal. It is a matter for congratulation that the editors have had the courage to print their journal in English and not in modern Hebrew. It is very understandable that in the first flush of revived nationhood there should be an insistence on the use of the national language and script for all publications; but the pursuance of this policy in the case of reports of Israelite archaeological activities, which are a matter of international interest, deprives many sympathetic readers of a knowledge of the excellent work which Israeli scholars are doing in this and kindred fields.

The name of Dr. O. G. S. Crawford is well known to all who are interested in archaeology, not only as the founder and editor of *Antiquity*, the livest of our British archaeological journals, but also as a field archaeologist of eminence, a pioneer in the field of air reconnaissance, and the first Archaeological Officer to the Ordnance Survey. It will be a matter of interest, not only to his many friends, but to all who are interested in any aspect of archaeology, to know that he has just published what is no doubt his most important work under the title of *Archaeology in the Field*. It is a crown 4to volume of 272pp. with 33 plates and frontispiece, 30 maps and 14 text figures. It may be ordered from H. W. Edwards Ltd., 102 Gt. Russell Street, W.C.1, price 42*s*. net.

In the *J.N.E.S.* for July, 1952, Professor Moscati, whose recent book was reviewed in this journal by Dr. Diringer, has published an important article on *Ancient Hebrew Seals* in the form of a review of Dr. Reifenberg's new book on the same subject and under the same title. Professor Orlinsky continues his studies on the St. Mark's scroll of Isaiah. He maintains, on the basis of a careful examination of the instances of variations from the M.T., that earlier judgements as to the superiority of such variations must now be reversed and the superiority of M.T. must be assumed unless the opposite is definitely proved. His judgment as to the general character of the scrolls is worth quoting: " The group which was responsible for the composition of these scrolls has not as yet been identified in time or space. It was not apparently part of normative, orthodox Judaism. Its dialect of Hebrew was apparently not the standard literary language. Consequently, the *floruit* of this group could be pre-masoretic or post-masoretic and be either unaware of or else simply indifferent to the masoretic activity of orthodox Judaism." In the October, 1952, issue of the same journal Professor Eggerton has an interesting discussion with Professor Gelb on the development of writing, which should not be missed.

A point of Jerusalem archaeology which has long engaged the attention of the experts is the site and nature of the " pavement " mentioned in the Gospels in connection with our Lord's trial. The *Revue Biblique* for October, 1952, has two very learned and suggestive articles on the subject by R. P. L.-H. Vincent and R. P. P. Benoit. R. P. R. de Vaux continues his report on the 4th campaign of excavation at Tell el-Far'ah in the same issue.

The appearance of yet another journal calls for note. Under the title *Anatolian Studies*, the journal of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara makes its bow to the world of scholarship. It has a large and important look, is clearly printed, with many plates and text figures, and is full of interesting matter. Of special note is the full report of the archaeological survey of Harran by Mr. Seton Lloyd and Mr. W. Brice in the summer of 1950. The importance of the site, both historically, and for its Biblical interest, is obvious, and the authors of the report conclude that very little further archaeological evidence can be recorded without excavation. It is much to be hoped that funds will be forthcoming to make the excavation of Harran under Mr. Seton Lloyd's able leadership possible in the near future.

In *The Times* for January 6 was an interesting and authoritative article entitled " Changing Israel " which describes how the ancient fertility of the land " flowing with milk and honey " is returning as the result of the devoted labours of its restored people. The following passage is worth quoting: " The development of the Negeb is a great pioneering enterprise. Wherever water has been brought crops have surpassed all expectations. Enormous deposits of phosphates have been found. Valuable varieties of sisal flourish without cultivation. King Solomon's copper mines have been re-discovered and are now being worked. A population of some 400 people is settled at Eilath, until recently dependent even for water upon Beersheba. Deep-sea fishing is being developed, a mole is being built, roads are being made and permanent houses are going up." It is much to be hoped that a satisfactory settlement will soon be reached between Israel and her Arab neighbours, and that the age-long feud between Jacob and Esau will be permanently appeased.

OBITUARIES

To those who have worked in Palestine and North Africa the name of René Neuville will be familiar and his death a sad loss.

Although his duties as Vice-Consul and later as Consul in Jerusalem occupied much of his time, he managed to do a considerable amount of archaeological research, particularly in the district around Bethlehem. In 1934 he published in the *Revue Biblique* a short summary of his results, which covered the period from the Acheulian to the late Mesolithic. This summary was later extended in a Mémoire of the Institut de Paléontologie Humain of 1951 as well as shorter papers on various aspects of Palestine prehistory. He also excavated the Cave of Kafzeh, in Northern Palestine, where he obtained a very useful sequence and a number of human skeletons comparable to those from Mount Carmel.

During the war years he was in North Africa and, in collaboration with the late Dr. Ruhlmann, carried out an extensive survey of the gravels near Casablanca; the results of this were published in a Monograph in 1941.

He returned to Jerusalem after the war as French Consul, but his official duties made it impossible for him to continue field work.

On questions of Palestine prehistory Neuville did not always agree with his colleagues, but on the whole their differences of opinion were on matters of detail rather than wider issues. His health was not always good and he suffered from a physical handicap which at times made him impatient, and as a critic he was always outspoken, but nevertheless he was a stimulating companion. Had he been able to devote his whole time to archaeology his output would have been considerable.

J. W.

The death of Lieut.-Col. P. L. O. Guy has removed from the scene a distinguished archaeologist and a lover of Israel. Most of his active life was spent in Palestine. After the first world war, during which he served in the French army, he entered the Mandatory Government's Department of Antiquities as chief inspector of antiquities. In 1927 he resigned from the government service and was employed by the Rockefeller Foundation on the excavation of Megiddo, in which work he continued until 1935. In that year he was appointed Director of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, but owing to the unsettled state of the country no field work was possible. After the second world war, when he rose to the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the R.A.S.C., he became involved in the Zionist revolt against the Mandatory Power and sided with the Jews in the war with the Arab

States. After the establishment of the Israeli State he was given a prominent position on the staff of the newly created Israeli Department of Antiquities, which position he occupied till the time of his death.

In Sir Charles Arden-Close the Fund has lost a very distinguished member and one who had been its chairman for 15 years from 1930 to 1945. He was one of that company of soldier-scientists whose services to their country it would be impossible to overestimate. He was gazetted to the Royal Engineers at the age of 19, was sent to India and attached to the Survey of India, where he gained that training in geographical and cartographical science which was destined to be the field of his achievements during the rest of his life. In 1895 he was placed in charge of a British commission which, conjointly with a German commission, was entrusted with the delicate and dangerous task of surveying the Nigerian-Cameroon frontier. Five years later it fell to his lot to unravel the problem of the "wandering meridian," involving German, British, and Belgian interests in the region of the Great Lakes of Central Africa. In 1911 he was appointed Director-General of the Ordnance Survey, and the unique excellence of those ordnance maps so indispensable to all explorers of the English countryside is largely due to him, especially their valuable archaeological information. After his retirement in 1922 he was able to devote his whole time to those historical, geographical, and archaeological interests, to which he had made, and continued to make such notable contributions. In 1927 he received the Victoria Medal of the Royal Geographical Society which is only awarded for exceptional contributions to pure science, and in the following year, after the death of David Hogarth, he succeeded him as president of the Society. He published a number of useful works, and contributed many valuable papers to various scientific journals. His last contribution to the Palestine Exploration Quarterly was an interesting article on the Cave of Machpelah in the January-April issue for 1951. No one who knew him can forget the charm and nobility of his character.

S. H. H.

With the death of Sir Frederic G. Kenyon a very notable landmark in the world of international scholarship has disappeared. He served on the executive committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund for many years, and was President of the British School of Archaeology at Jerusalem from 1920 till the time of his death. The list of all his offices, honours, and publications would fill several pages of this journal. He was descended from a distinguished legal family, being the son of the Vinerian Professor of Law in the University of Oxford, while his great-grandfather was the first Lord Kenyon who succeeded Lord Mansfield as Lord Chief Justice in 1788. He was a scholar of Winchester and of New College, Oxford, and was elected a Fellow of Magdalen in 1883. In the same year he entered the British Museum as Assistant in the Department of Manuscripts. Here he specialized in papyrology, and made his name as the discoverer of Aristotle's lost *Treatise on the Constitution of Athens*. In 1909 he began his long and fruitful reign as Director and Principal Librarian of the British Museum. The list of the many societies of which he was President, or on whose committees he served, is too long to be set forth here. His *Handbook of the Textual Criticism of the New Testament* revised in 1912, is still a standard guide to the study of that subject. Among his many side-lines was a keen interest in the life and work of the Brownings, and he published several books on that subject. He took a great interest in the Territorial Army, in which he served as the commander of a training battalion during the first world war. Towards the close of his life he produced several useful books on the Bible, among which *The Bible and Archaeology* deserves special mention.

S. H. H.

PERSIA, GREECE AND ISRAEL

By Sir J. L. Myres

The establishment of a Persian Empire on the ruins of Babylonia and Media, Egypt and Lydia, in the middle of the sixth century B.C., opened a new period in the history of two of the world's greatest peoples, Israel and Greece. But it affected these two peoples in quite opposite ways.

For the survivors of the old kingdom of Jerusalem, destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon in 588 B.C., the coming of Cyrus meant new hope, and prospect of liberty to reoccupy their old home and resume their national existence: and this hope was fulfilled. Though third parties tried repeatedly to cause misunderstanding, the new Jewish hierocracy remained loyal to Persia, and the king of Persia loyally kept his initial promise that Jerusalem should be restored.

For the Greeks, on the other hand, the collapse of the Lydian Empire ended a long period of seclusion and quiescence, within which, after the turmoil and catastrophe of the thirteenth century, the colonisation of the west coast of Asia Minor was achieved, and the city states of Ionia and neighbouring regions grew to maturity, and drew many contributions to their composite civilization from the continental interior, and especially from the great trade-centre at Sardis. From the fall of Sardis, however, and the establishment of Persian administration in Lydia and Phrygia, the relations between continental interior and coast-land became strained and distorted; the political development of the Greek cities was deranged; and quite apart from the material damage inflicted in the Persian Wars, the foreign relations of the whole Greek world were oppressed by the nightmare of a " Persian Peril " which wrought most harm in Greece when it was itself least real.

For the smaller and less defensible of their neighbours, all the Great Empires of antiquity inspired similar fears; and Persia has commonly been presented by historians simply as the last and most extensive of them. The peculiar reactions, however, both of Greece and of Israel to Persian domination, or the fear of it, cannot be understood unless it is realized how profoundly the Persian people differed from earlier conquerors, and how their characteristics affected their whole administration.

Though the Persian Empire thus owes its exceptional quality to the Persian people, led by the Achaemenid dynasty, it is remarkable that the Greeks always refer to it as the Empire of the Medes. The reason for this is historical. Their first direct experience of Oriental aggression was in the Median attacks on the kingdom of Lydia, whose vassals the cities of Ionia were. The name stuck, and its original meaning perhaps helped to create misunderstanding about the Persians, when in due course they appeared as a new dynasty wielding all the resources of the Medes in addition to its own.

It is a commonplace to contrast both the Medes and the Persians with the Babylonians and Assyrians, as peoples of Iranian speech and antecedents, intruded into a region of which the higher culture had long been Semitic or Sumerian. But it is more significant to distinguish between the Persians and the Medes, in the sense that while the Medes had suffered more, and perhaps learned more, from the Scythian and Cimmerian raids of the seventh century, the Persians had remained in secluded dependence on the old highland state of Elam, and had been far more profoundly influenced by the religious and moral teaching of Zoroaster, whose historical significance is unaffected by controversies as to his date.

All those earlier empires had rested on the same Rule of Force—what the Greeks called *δυνάστειν*, or more familarly *δεσπότεια*. It was justified, among those who exercised it, by reference to the same " rule of force " in Nature and in Heaven. Early Hebrew theology gives us these ideas in their crudest form. The king-on-earth is absolute vice-regent of a God-in-heaven, who is a " Lord of Hosts ", a God of Armies. He is on the side of the big battalions, and they are on His. He is a " jealous " God, capricious, petulant, venal, oblivious, self-expressed in whirlwind, earthquake, and fire, as well as in the " still small voice " within his votary. On earth, the only restraint on " dynasty " or " despotism "—as the Greeks called it—was the balance of power; the existence of other despots, to whom overtaxed and underfed subjects might revolt, in extremity. There could be war in heaven too; for there were other gods, to defend dynastically, despotically, their own viceroys and worshippers. Usually this Balance of Power made existence tolerable for underlings. But a League of Despots, such as was contrived between the Great Powers after the fall of Nineveh, and reorganized in 585 B.C., meant hell-upon-earth for all smaller people. Only some quite fresh " deliverer " from outside that dynastic " ring " could break the spell and liberate the nations.

Cyrus represented his own acts not as " conquests ", but as a remedial replacement of a bad ruler on earth by a good one. The gods, like the nations, were released from captivity, and " returned to their places ". In Babylon, Cyrus claimed to be the legal successor of Nabunahid, " King of Babylon, King of the Lands ", as the " servant of Marduk ", and patron of Marduk's priests with whom Nabunahid had quarrelled. In Phoenicia, it is as " King of Babylon " that he installs what he calls " Kings and Judges "; in his dealings, " by the waters of Babylon ", with exiles from Jerusalem, he is the " servant of Jehovah ". So too Darius, in Egypt, bears the titles of the Pharaoh, and is " servant of Amon-Ra ". In principle and policy, then, Cyrus was the " servant " of the god of each of his vassals; it was the surest way to acceptance as their master; and the same tolerance and respect for local gods, their sanctuaries, and their priesthoods, was characteristic of Persian administration always. Only if a local god, or his worshippers, broke their covenant, was Persian " righteousness " implacable; for what was broken was the law, and the covenant, of the Medes and Persians " which altereth not ".

Thus, the deliverance of Israel, and of other smaller peoples, was not only political. It was release from spiritual " captivity " among the magic-ridden image-worshippers of Babylonia—" the astrologers, the stargazers, the monthly prognosticators " (Isaiah, xlvii, 15) of a contemporary pamphlet —by one stronger than they, because quite free from their infirmity. The phrases of Cyrus's proclamation to the Exiles ring true, and no less genuine are the terms of his proclamation to Babylon. " Merodach ", he says, " showed compassion upon all the lands together. He looked for him, he found him; yea, he sought out an upright Prince, after his own heart; He took by his hand Cyrus, king of the city of Anshan; he named his name; to the kingdom of the whole world he called him by name . . . Bel and Nebo rejoiced in his rule ". And then, speaking in his own person, " The gods that abode in [Babylon] I restored to their places, to an eternal abode. In their own shrines I made them inhabit a dwelling of heart's delight." Bel and Nebo, we must remember, had been gravely neglected by Nabunahid, and the cult statues from temples in other parts of Babylonia had been indecently interned together in the Palace Museum, with the Temple-vessels of Jehovah from Jerusalem, and much else.

The reason for this difference between Persian over-lordship, and all earlier despotisms, does not become obvious till the proclamations of Darius supplement and elucidate those of Cyrus; and the description of Persian religion and manner in Herodotus shows us the simple faith of the ordinary Persian, on which the theology and philosophy of Zoroaster, and the state-religion of Achaemenid kings, are founded. " Images " (he says) " and temples, and altars, it is not their custom to set up, and they impute foolishness to those who do so: I suppose because they do not think the gods to be of human nature, as the Greeks do. . . . It is not proper for him, who is sacrificing, to pray for blessings for himself personally; but he prays ' that it may be well with all the Persians and with the king '; and among ' all the Persians ' he himself too is included." Though a Magian priest stands by and chants, it does not much matter what he sings: a Persian is priest in his own house. He prays for all Persians, and for the King, whose service is the service of the Good. He brings up his sons—says Herodotus—to ride, and to shoot, and to tell the truth; to ride is to get the best work from the best gift of nature, in the service of himself and the king; to shoot, is to destroy unerringly whatever in nature is dangerous or destructive—snakes, lions, or the king's enemies; to *tell* the truth, he must *know* the truth about men and things—know how to see straight, as he shoots straight and rides straight, and to describe aright what he sees and knows. All mistake and error is in the service of the *Lie*. The result was a nation of boy-scouts, of happy warriors, of grave, polite, considerate, honest, and efficient gentlemen. To the sophisticated Greeks, much of this was foolisness or pedantry. To Israel, in Babylonian captivity, it was sheer righteousness.

Man, in this World, *has his chance*: of all days in the year (as Herodotus says) a Persian most prizes his birthday; it was then that his chance came to him. And if a man does *enough* good, his reward is increased power for good, and for a longer time: a conditional immortality; whereas bad men—as we have learned to see—are cursed with a progressive devilishness, a proficiency in evil-doing. Especially does the good man leave not only himself, but other men, better than he found them. One supremely characteristic Persian word we have inherited: a *paradise*, in Greek παράδεισος, was natural countryside converted, by man's care, into parkland and fertile estates. Darius praises Gadatas for acclimatizing fruit-trees on the Maeander, only reproaching him for interference with men who were intent on like beneficence, the priests of Apollo near by—Apollo " who told truth to the Persians ". Here is a religion for squires and administrators, as well as for peasant freeholders and day-labourers.

A positive creed of this kind—the Cause of Good striving to make the world his own, and we striving in the World to make it better, for Him, need know no barrier of race or nationality. Zoroaster's mission was to " convert all men " by confronting them with the Truth: for adherence to Truth, and service to the Lord of Truth, give eternity to life: " in immortality shall the soul of the righteous be joyful; in perpetuity shall be the torment of the liars " (*C.A.H.*, iv, 207 ff.). The Truth is the Way to the Life.

Here was a " religion for all good men "; it admitted proselytism; Zoroaster preached, and made converts. " To the one Good Spirit all men, irrespective of nationality might, if they would, adhere; and in him find salvation ".[1] But there could be no compulsion. Between good and evil, every man's choice is free: and as men's circumstances vary (up and down the Persian Empire, at all events) so does their choice of " the good " vary, as Herodotus shows, in his story of Darius and the Callatian Indians; for them, as well as for Ionian Greeks, there was room in his kingdom of Truth. But while each man's choice is free, choose he must, between the Truth and the Lie; in this world-war there is no neutrality.

This Persian devotion to Truth naturally amused the rationalized and commercialized Greeks. Aristagoras (says Herodotus) " ought not to have told the truth " about the road to Persia " at all events if it was his intention " to persuade Cleomenes to go. Of Cyrus, on the other hand, it was said in the wine-shops that he had no use for people in whose *agora* they " met daily to cheat each other ": such men were *agoraioi* indeed. But Herodotus and Xenophon show by their vivid portaits of great Persians—above all, of Cyrus and Darius themselves—that it was as possible for a thoughtful observant Greek to appreciate Persian outlook and behaviour, as it was for Mardonius and Pharnabazus to " understand democracy ".

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[1] G. B. Gray, *C.A.H.*, *IV*, vii, §6, p. 208.

How then did it happen that the relations between the new dynasty and the two greatest of the peoples with whom it had to deal, were so different, and in regard to the Greeks, so tragical?

In the first place, these two peoples had been in very different relations with those overlords whom the Persians displaced.

In Israel, both the northern and the southern kingdom had incurred the severe displeasure, of Assyria, and the southern, later again of Babylonia under Nebuchadnezzar. There had been dispersal and internment or "captivity". Jeremiah, in Egypt, thought that this was the end, and preached a new covenant between his God and the individual penitent. Ezekiel "by the waters of Babylon" saw visions of a "city of God" not made with hands. Enforced intercourse with heathen, and especially with Babylonian cults and practices, emphasized the peculiar merits of Temple worship and prophetic morality. The scattered captives and refugees, from Babylon to Egypt, kept touch with each other, worshipped and conversed together when they could—and it is from this phase that an institution arose for which the Greek name is συναγωγή—criticised the political situation, but took no steps to change it.

To such men, the sudden appearance of Cyrus and his Persians—a "ravenous bird from the east", "beautiful upon the mountains" overlooking Babylonia—was the dawn of a new age; and on closer acquaintance the newcomer seemed indeed to be the "Servant of the Lord". While the city gods of Babylonia were dismissed "each to his own place" out of the palace-museum of Nabunahid, the malcontent "captives" were allowed to rebuild Jerusalem and restore the Temple. This was in complete accord with the Persian imperial policy of making the best use of the best qualities of the best people, as we have it in the letter of Darius to Gadatas. And not only was the National Home re-established. To the scattered "congregations" elsewhere the same good news was spread; that under the "Servant of the Lord" there was justice and peace. "I will send those that escape of them unto the nations, to Tarshish, Pul and Lud . . . To Tubal and Javan, to the isles afar off." Restored and contented, Israel is the prophet of *Medism* to Asia Minor and the West, and especially to Lydians and Ionian Greeks: "Lud", "Javan", and the "islands".

But from the first moment of the Return—just as under their Monarchy before the Exile—the centralization, formalization and exclusiveness of the restored and reformed Jerusalem encountered much the same opposition as the rule of privilege and tradition among the Greeks. The returned exiles, though zealous and determined on a policy, were few. In Palestine there were peasants and fugitives who had never left the land at all; Edom in the south, Samaria in the north, Philistia in the west, had each its own group of exiles; there were refugee-settlements in Egypt like Daphnae and Elephantine. There had been mixed marriages, and observance of heathen rites, as well as mere ignorance of the "Law", much of which had indeed been compiled, if not composed, "by the waters of Babylon", from Ezekiel to Ezra. The intensity of the successive " Reforms " and " Proclamations of the Law " is evidence of obstinate resistance; and the repeated appeals to the Great King, and appointment of a fresh Commissioner to " restore Jerusalem ", suggests that from time to time these adversaries prevailed, and set back the work of the conservative Reformers. It can hardly be accidental, that these relapses, and occasions of Jewish unpopularity, coincide with periods of revolt in other Persian provinces, and especially in Egypt —about 483, about 458, and again about 445. In particular, the very wide authority given to Ezra in 458 reflects the general uneasiness and the anxieties of the Persian government, during the revolt of Inaros in the Delta. How far these incidents were provoked or encouraged by the western enemies of Persia, and especially by Athens during the generation after the Persian War, it is not easy to show; but Sir Leonard Woolley's recent excavations at the mouth of the Orontes show that Athenian material interests were considerable. But the " restored " nation itself was suffering indeed from the same kind of internal troubles as most of the Greek city-states. What kept the new Judaic State loyal to Persia was that, like the oligarchies of Greece, it stood for tradition, observance of the code, and a nationalist separatism which simplified the task of government for the overlord. *Divide et impera.* Samaria was not to obstruct Jerusalem; but there is no suggestion that Jerusalem is to incorporate Samaria. Later, the same deliberate encouragement of small autonomies, and hostility to federal and imperial groupings, is characteristic of Persian dealings with the Greeks.

Like the Hebrew people, the Greek cities on the west coast of Asia Minor, had for some four generations at least been vassals of a continental despotism, the Mermnad dynasty of Sardis, a " rule of force " like others of the Near East, inheriting probably its political experience, if not its political philosophy, from the Hittite Empire of the centuries before the twelfth; but infused with that new dynastic element, intrusive in the early twelfth century, to which the Greeks gave the name of the Heracleidae.

Though later Greeks, at variance with Persia, looked back to the days of Croesus and his predecessors as a kind of Golden Age, Herodotus gives details enough to show that though the Lydian Empire played the same part of " outer guard " or " warden of the marches " against interference from the East, as the Kingdom of Macedon against inroads from the North; similarity of interests was enforced, as well as defended, by exaction of tribute.

There was probably also, in extreme cases, the customary security for the maintenance of the King's Peace: at all events the local agents of the Persian government had a Greek title (or nickname), *tyrannos*, which was believed to be a Lydian word, and in its early Homeric form *koiranos* is recognisable as the Hittite *kurwanya.* But as this word was applied in the sixth and early fifth centuries, both to the commissioner of an overlord, and to the self-appointed or popularly-accepted leader of an internal revolution—what we now call a " dictator "—it would seem that it had come to mean any form of personal rule, unrestrained by traditional or constitutional forms, autocratic, realist, opportunist; and this among Greeks was hard to distinguish from irresponsible. Evidently it made no difference, in Greek life, whether the spears, on which such irresponsible rule rested, were those of political adherents, or of a foreign garrison.

Whatever the practice, however, of the Lydian dynasty, in controlling Greek tributaries, it is certain that, with the sole exception of Miletus, which had achieved an exceptional autonomy or free-and-equal alliance with Sardis, a generation earlier—these Greek cities refused to desert Croesus for Cyrus, and after the fall of Sardis even tried to restore an independent Lydia. Cyrus appeared to them, not as deliverer, but as oppressor. Like other " despots ", he asked only two things—peace and revenue; Alyattes and Croesus had asked no more, and had been content with no less. But the King of Sardis had been a neighbour, accessible and interested in their prosperity. The King of Kings, being also King of Persia, soon returned to Susa or beyond; administration, itself an ἐπαρχή was by deputy ὕπαρχος; and the natural but fatal mistake was made, of treating the Greek cities in exactly the same way as all other kinds of vassals. In the new Jerusalem, for example, Zerubbabel, Ezra, and Nehemiah were given a wide commission to establish " home rule "—government according to Jewish ideas; and were supported by the King of Kings against local critics and opponents. In Lydia, Croesus's own finance minister, Pactyas, was left as civil governor, alongside a military commandant. In each autonomous city, where there was any fear of trouble, a prominent citizen became Persian commissioner, responsible through the υπαρχος at Sardis to the ἔπαρχος at Susa for the two essential requirements, peace and tribute; and responsible to nobody for anything else.

In what respect then did this " tyrant " system suit the Greek cities so badly ?

All Oriental despotisms had to deal with several well-marked types of local authorities. (1) There were the tribal communities which the Greeks called *ethnê* and the Romans *nationes*. They had chiefs, usually hereditary, and among them usually a paramount chief more or less formally recognised as arbiter of disputes and spokesman in external affairs. (2) There were the smaller kingdoms, δυνάστειαι (" dynasties "), and what the Romans called *regna*—in Bithynia, Galatia and Cappadocia—built up, like the great despotisms, by conquest or patronage. Herodotus's account of Deioces among the Medes is a vivid diagram of the process. Here the " strong man armed " met the " stronger than he ", and surrendered to him as his vassal. The Persian royal title " King of Kings " exactly expressed the facts: as other kings were to their own subjects, so Cyrus and Darius were to all kings who accepted them as overlord.

Tribal chieftaincies and dynastic kingdoms alike had territorial extent, but there were other forms of government, concerned rather with functions than with domains. Such were the bazaar towns at intersections of routes. The Greeks called them *komopoleis* because their role was economic rather than political, subserving the needs of the countryside, and marketing in return its produce.

Often they had industries—textiles, pottery, metal-working—and sometimes they occupied or controlled a mining district, or exploited a river-crossing. Normally a bazaar-town was managed by its principal merchants or employers; such management required skill and experience, and a small " council of elders " combined these qualities and was as permanent as gerontocracy is wont to be. Responsibility went with authority: the two primary requirements of an overlord were easily satisfied, for peace and prosperity were the prime needs of the bazaar-town and its managers: and the more prosperous the bazaar, the larger the tribute it could afford to pay for freedom from other interference. Sometimes a bazaar-city like Damascus or Palmyra became the seat of a personal monarchy, by conquest or usurpation, and acquired territory and vassals of its own.

Very different in origin, but often identical historically, and offering similar points of contact with an overlord, was the sanctuary-city or *Hierapolis*, such as Ephesus, Pessinus, Apamea, and Jerusalem itself, as its popular Greek name Hiero-solyma shows. Here the holy place was primary and central; prestige and wealth accrued to the god, and were exploited by the god's household, a close guild or priesthood, usually hereditary, sometimes the élite of a larger tribal group, such as the Levites.

At Telmessus in Caria " everyone prophesied "—man, woman, and child: on the other hand, at Delphi the god's word came through an ordained or specially-endowed person.

Sometimes a natural feature or object had determined the site of a cult: an " oracle " indeed has been defined as the conjunction of an uncanny place and a canny person. Under the patronage and exploitation of a priestly college, might grow up a bazaar, an industrial centre, an administration over estates outlying and even discontinuous—like those of mediaeval monasteries such as St. John of Patmos. In Western Asia Minor, the Greek city-states of Miletus, Samos, Ephesus, and Colophon lay at some distance from their chief temple, which may well have been an older Asianic sanctuary: Branchidae had a hereditary priesthood, and Paphos in Cyprus a priest-king until Roman times.

At Jerusalem, a Jebusite fortress, surrendering at last to Israelite invaders, became first a federal rallying-point " whither the tribes go up ": then a sanctuary-city, in succession to Hebron; then the political capital of a dynasty, where high priest and King did not always agree; then repeatedly a great bazaar and the administrative centre of a conquest-state, one of the minor " powers " of the Near East.

While the King was primarily War-lord and dispenser of civil justice, Jehovah remained the Lord of Hosts; in the " Congregation of the Lord " his votaries were ranged in tribal contingents as in the days of the conquest. Compare Joshua's army with the Roman *comitia centuriata*; his priests had policies domestic and foreign which were not always those of the king.

Around the King grew up secular magnates—" mighty men of war "—rich (and sometimes oppressive) landowners, merchants and employers. From this class, inevitably, were drawn the King's advisers and officials. And beyond both the Temple and the Court were the Countryside peasantry *ἄγροικοι* and a growing urban proletariate—what the Greeks called *ἀγαραῖοι*—" the men that sit on the wall " when a foreign envoy delivers his challenge to the vizier. In theory there was immemorial right of free speech: " are they not all the Lord's prophets ? " But in practice only a few, who felt upon them " the hand of the Lord ", exercise that right, not always to the satisfaction of either Court or Temple.

As in all communities of Semitic culture, however, the " outspeaker " —in Greek the *prophêtês*—the " seer ", or " man with open eyes " as the Tell Duweir *ostrakon* calls him, was tolerated, respected, and even consulted when it was a question of forming a " National Government ". The adventures of Elijah and Elisha, Micaiah and Jeremiah, are vivid examples of this notable and characteristic institution. The story of Balaam—like that of Melampus or Theoklymenos—shows it early, outside the limits of tribe or people, and applied to practical and magical ends. " False prophets " indeed there were; but as with poets and journalists, " days to come are the wisest witness "; only the event could show. It was one of the complaints against Nehemiah that he had " appointed prophets to preach of him saying, ' There is a King in Judah ' " (*Neh.*, vi, 7), and Ahab long before had his jingo prophet with horns of iron, " with these shalt thou push the Syrians ".

In this historical and sociological perspective, the value of Hebrew " prophecy " becomes evident, as independent outspoken comment on current events, and intelligent (if not always well-informed) anticipation. Jeremiah had no doubt that Nebuchadnezzar would invade Egypt; Ezekiel expected a tumultuary raid of the northern peoples after the " Battle of the Eclipse " in 585 B.C. Babylonian statecraft forestalled both; but Ezekiel had to admit that Nebuchadnezzar had wasted his trouble over Tyre.

We have now to ask, what place was there for a Greek City State, among the vassal communities already classified and described. The City State, as its structure clearly shows, had originated in tribal society, but it had none of the marks of an *ethnos* or *natio*. If it had not itself passed through a phase of monarchy, as Thucydides thought, its founders were survivors from the dynastic and feudal society, described in the Homeric Poems and attested by many traditions. It had its keen economic activity, as the market and workshop of a territory, but it was neither a *komê* nor a *komôpolis*. It had its sanctuaries and priesthoods, but they were numerous, independent, and ornaments (rather than organs) of public life. There was a historical reason for this, as there might have been in Israel and Judah, if the Land-Raids of the thirteenth century, or the Syrian Wars of the tenth and ninth, had shattered the highland communities of Palestine. For in the Dark Age of Greece the Gods had defaulted, as well as the Divine-born Kings. Never again for Greeks was the divine will more than a friendly offer of advice inspired by wider outlook and deeper knowledge. Man stood free. An individual, or a State, could accept or ignore a χρῆσμος; most commonly of all, the χρῆσμος or casual sign of some sort, itself needed human thought and reasoning before the divine will could be revealed from it at all. And this had a further consequence. The Persian's invariable consideration for sanctuaries and priesthoods, not only for Apollo " who told truth to the Persians ", was a direct consequence of their own religious belief, and has its counterpart in Turkish consideration for churches and monasteries, so long as they were not used as garrisons or fortresses. To accuse Xerxes of habitually " destroying the temples " in Greece or in Babylonia, was fine war-propaganda, but bad history, and sheer misconception of Persian methods of government. Far nearer the truth was the belief that " Apollo medized ": as guardian of the ancient order, as well as in gratitude for Persian (as of Lydian) patronage, he could hardly do less. This distinguished them alike from κωμόπολις and ἱεράπολις. What the Polis essentially existed to achieve, was to maintain and enhance a particular corporate mode of life, and outlook on the world, for each and all of its members. Some cities were strict in imposing hereditary qualifications, other tolerated enfranchisement of a " desirable alien ": almost all, however, agreed that their people had originally " come together " for mutual defence and support, during a not very distant crisis of social chaos. The *Polis* γινομένη τοῦ ζῆν ἕνεκεν " came into being to keep men alive "—I wonder whether even Aristotle realized how literally true that was—and it was long believed that οὖσα δὲ τοῦ εὖ ζῆν only by the particular modes of life which had emerged, could life be made worth living at all, for those groups of people respectively.

Fundamental principles of such an association of hereditary groups, not originally or necessarily related by blood, but " introduced to one another " by some πρῶτος συστήσας, their more than merely human οἰκιστής, μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν αἴτιος, were ἰσονομία, equality of assignment in material and social amenities; ἰσηγορία equality of utterance, and ἰσοτέλεια equality of function and responsibility.

The result was literally ἐλευθερία, " grown-up-ness " (to translate the Greek word for *freedom*): every member was his own master, so long as he was master of himself, of his own behaviour (that is) toward the others. The two " commandments " were " Know thyself " and " Nothing in excess ": together they are the Greek paraphrase of the Golden Rule.

Now equality of privilege and obligation—ἰσομία—applied to public duties, meant rotation of office—that is, of opportunity for initiative ἀρχή—and equality of utterance—ἰσηγορία—meant freedom of speech in advice and criticism; it is the Greek equivalent of Hebrew *prophecy*:—" Are they not all the Lord's prophets ? " However limited the class of full-citizens in any City State, their qualification was competence " as among equals " to " rule and be ruled in turn ", ἐπ' ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ . . . ἄρχειν καὶ ἄρχεσθαι ἐπ' ἀμφότερα—and public services were usually of annual duration.

The Lydian Kings seem, in general, to have recognized this peculiarity. Cyrus, in Greek belief at least, misconceived the whole arrangement. For him, the Greek *polis* was a *komopolis*; free trade and free speech were more conspicuous than political freedom; its *agorà* seemed a mob of *agoraíoi*, loafers and liars.

But to take this year's *prûtanis* or *demioûrgos*, " head-man " or " public servant ", and make him responsible for next year's tribute or breaches of the peace, was to stop the political clock: and to install *tyranny*, irresponsible, limitless, the negation of *eleutheria* or " grown-up-ness "; for the " tyrant " is no respecter of persons: he treats adults as children, and citizens as underlings: look at Herodotus's summary of tyrant-rule, in the " Debate of the Conspirators ", III, 80.

This was bad enough; and long afterwards Mardonius abolished the whole system, and " established democracies " everywhere.

But there was a further cause of misunderstanding, arising from circumstances which have close counterpart in Restored Jerusalem, though the result was opposite. Economic changes, and more frequent intercourse between cities, resulted in the coalescence of impoverished and disqualified citizens, with unprivileged immigrants, into a proletariate which exercised, at least informally, *some* freedom of speech, to criticize oppression and to demand incorporation. There was also, in an age of travel and intercourse, widespread comparision of traditional observance, and challenge of their necessity and fitness. " Ordinance " (*Thesmos*) was contrasted with *Right* (*Diké*), and with the new notion of Law (*Nómos*). Freedom of utterance bred freedom of thought; and when men think for themselves, it is not long before they act for themselves too.

Inequality of assignment (πλεονεξία—the reverse of εὐνομία) was converting what had claimed to be aristocracy into *oligarchy* (minority rule); and it was an economic and topical accident that while the " best people " lived in town, the majority were country-bred, so that " government by rustics " (democracy), originally a term of abuse, came to imply a " new covenant ", of equality between persons, irrespective of any kind of " assignment " of wealth or birth-right.

All this was happening, and would have continued to happen, if Cyrus had never conquered Croesus, or emerged from his Persian highlands at all. But at a time when the rule of privilege and of tradition was being challenged everywhere by the rule of freedom and reason, the intervention of a foreign power, so archaic in its social structure, as Persia was, and so intent (like any other conqueror) on public order and on tribute, made the party of wealth and tradition the obvious protégé and ally of the invaders; and gave a quite fresh importance to the sanctuaries, with their great wealth, wide experience, and cautious adherence to established ways.

It was a dramatic—indeed a tragic—situation. Israel, released, restored, comforted at last, under the rule of righteousness and peace, of the " Servant of the Lord, even Cyrus ", turns to the West, to the " isles afar off ", and implores " Javan ", the Ionian Greeks, to come into the same fold. And if the Greeks *had* come in, and been comforted, as Israel was comforted, and Miletus for a while, under Persian rule—*what then*? We are back at Herodotus's initial question:—*δι' ἣν αἰτίην ἐπολέμησαν ἀλλήλοισιν.* By a sequence of historical accidents, some personal, some political, two of the world's most gifted peoples, Persians and Greeks, failed, almost completely, to understand each other. The Greeks, with few exceptions, stood out, and repelled all Persian attempt to conciliate. The sequel was two hundred years of frustration and political anxiety for Persia; two hundred years of economic constraint for the Greeks, and of the political and moral unrest which constraint engendered: and that nightmare ended only when the vitality of Persia itself had been sapped by contact—as Herodotus already saw—with less desirable subjects and advisers; and when a Greek prince, brought up, like a Persian lord, " to ride, and to shoot, and to tell the truth ", among the hardy squires and peasantry of Macedonia, sat on the throne of Cyrus.

Thus, before there was opportunity for mutual understanding between the higher elements, or even the leading personalities, Greek and Persian became estranged, and Persian policy became involved on what was to be the losing side, in the long struggle between ancient ways and new notions in Greek society. The most enlightened and tolerant of Oriental cultures came to be regarded as the enemy of freedom in all its aspects; the cry across the abyss, of Israel restored and comforted, to the " isles of the sea afar off ", to come in to the new rule of order and right, remained unanswered, and perhaps unheard.

The Persian Empire opened a new period for Israel and for Greece. The unique character of Persian rule, which resulted essentially from Zoroastrian religion and morality, affected differently the Restored Exiles in Jerusalem, and the Ionian Greeks, in accordance with their respective experiences as a Sanctuary State or Theocracy, and as a City-State, and as vassals of Babylon or of Sardis. In both peoples old tendencies, quite independent of Persian intervention, towards exclusive or towards liberal development, persisted after the Persian conquest. Both in Palestine and in Ionia, Persian administrators and their local agents supported the vested interests of tradition, privilege, and formalism. In Palestine they secured a loyal ally and outpost; but among Greek cities, the political peculiarities of which were misunderstood, Persian rule for all its high qualities and aims appeared as the enemy of popular government and freedom of thought.

Conversely, the estrangement between Persians and Greeks—and especially Ionian Greeks—made it difficult, except for a few individuals, to come to close quarters on an intellectual plane. By the middle of the sixth century, Olympianism had almost ceased to need a philosophic grounding. For the many, it satisfied popular need for pageantry, and for social and moral sanctions. From Xenophanes onwards, thoughtful and devout people felt —what only a few uttered—a profound dissatisfaction, but little wish or hope for a restatement. The dualist antithesis of Good and Evil is not easy to distinguish in early Greek philosophies from the alternatives of *Being* and *Not Being* whatever is desirable, or true, or right. With the consignment of the Titans to Etna, the Olympians had made the world fairly safe for Man; there were no Daevas still loose, as in Zoroaster's Persia. In the repertory of the *Shield of Herakles*, as in the Shield of Achilles, there are monsters—Eris, Deimos, Phobos, and the Kêres—but no Devil. Later, the moral doctrine of the good Mean, between Extremes, both of them evil, presents the problem of Conduct quite differently.

Of the profound influence of Persian religious ideas, on Hebrew and on Christian thought, this is not the occasion to speak; *either* as they had been systematized and philosophized by that great thinker and teacher Zoroaster; *or* as they were popularized later when Mithra, the Day Star and specific Lord of Light in Ahuramazda's dispensation, came to have functions analogous to those of Apollo in Greek religion, as Διὸς προφήτης, mouthpiece and chief agent of the " Wise Lord ", in his dealings with mankind, and eventually eclipsed the " Wise Lord " himself almost wholly.

Here it is enough to note the favourable circumstances in which Persian toleration of whatever had good in it, and Persian aversion from the magical and idolatrous practices of other dominant peoples of the Near East, and especially of Babylonia, first came to be known to Israel in captivity, and afterwards to the Restored Nation in Palestine. When a man as able and as devout as Nehemiah had been in personal attendance on the Persian king and his councillors, there can be no doubt that the Persian character, and mode of life, and outlook on the world, had been seen at its best, and appreciated.

Though foreign customs and luxuries (as Herodotus was already noting with regret) rapidly infested the Persian Court, and the palaces of provincial governors, and though cult images began to appear under Artaxerxes II, within a generation of Tissaphernes' visit of homage to Ephesian Artemis (*Thuc.*, viii, 109), the fact that Zoroastrian teaching was transmitted so faithfully as it was, among much that disfigured and overlaid it, suggests that Persian society was never wholly corrupted, but remained, certainly till Alexander's time, the most wholesome and reputable element among the mixed populations of the Empire; and probably contributed much to the peculiar success of the later Greek kingdom in Bactria, as well as of the Parthian regimes.

The bearing of this review of contemporary forms of regional administration, on the political history of restored Judah, is obvious, and as the " Return from Babylon " is the only episode of Persian provincial administration which has come down to us documented from the provincial's point of view, it deserves attention as commentary on Mardonius' mission to Ionia, and the transplantation of the Paeonians in Hdt. v, 12–14. Once again in the restored Jewish state, there was a hereditary priesthood, though many Levites (and even priests) had forfeited their status, or were deprived of it by the Reformers. There was a civil " governor ", or " prince "—in Persia he would have been styled τύραννος—whose dealings with the priesthood and with the " congregation of the Lord " had to be defined: his place of business, his allowances, and his share in Temple worship. There were other " princes " or " elders" with social and political prestige; and there were the " prophets " Haggai and Zechariah, who gave expression to the general will, insisted on a high standard of behaviour, and intervened, from different points of view, to keep Prince and Priest in harmony by their personal influence. The status of Ezra himself is not clear: he stands outside the formal constitution, yet he is not a " prophet ", but rather a High Commissioner, like Sheshbazzar; or a Settlement Officer, to deal with emergencies of " Restoration " as they arose. His activities throw some light on those of other Persian High Commissioners, sent direct from Susa with a specific commission to deal with a provincial crisis: Bagaios, sent by Darius in Hdt. v, 128, to depose Oroetes at Sardis; Mardonios, sent to install " home-rule all round " after the Ionian Revolt (Hdt. vi, 43); and Tissaphernes in Thuc. viii and thereafter in Xen. *Hellenica*.

Local officials—ὕπαρχοι and satraps like Pharnabazus, or τύραννοι like Hecataeus—had local knowledge and experience, local responsibilities and commitments, but also local prejudices, and limited provincial outlook. The Great King's Eye, like the Wise God Ahuramazda, was all-seeing. But it was not to be expected that all the King's ὕπαρχοι were content to co-operate with the man-from-the-Court: the relations between Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus are an example.

Darius's letter to Gadatas shows how a zealous and efficient officer might fail to realize that the King of Kings had " other sheep, not of this fold " votaries of Apollo " who spoke truth to the Persians " or of Jehovah, whose servant Cyrus had declared himself to be. If Ezra represents anyone at all, it is the Babylonian exiles, from Ezekiel onwards, who had looked ahead, and planned the Restoration itself, and presumably conducted the preliminary negotiations with Cyrus, as well as maintained the necessary liaison with the King of Kings and his council.

Nor was the " Return " effected by a stroke of the pen in Susa. Some " exiles " did not wish to return; other persons who were not " exiles " were intruded into the " restored " community; some, apparently, had never left Palestine but had stayed, or been kept, " to till the land ". In what had been the Northern Kingdom, there was a rival community and sanctuary; and Northern Israel (like Northern Ireland) wished no good to the rejuvenated South. More serious in its historical consequences was the divergence of political—rather than strictly religious—opinion among the " restored ". Though the policy of the King of Kings and his Council never varied—and could not vary without apostacy from the Cause of Good, as well as breach of contracts over which Mithra himself stood guard—and though charters, like other royal deeds, were duly recorded and filed, whenever the king happened to be where he signed them[1], the execution of them had to be entrusted to the local governor or to a special commissioner, as we have seen; and such a transference of population as the " Return from Babylon " threatened to disturb the peace, and derange the provincial budget, as well as offer occasions for *bakshish*, or mere obstructiveness. For in Israel, as in Greece, the sixth century brought into sharp contrast two ancient tendencies and points of view. Fundamental, on the other hand, for those who felt that the old covenant and its representatives, the government and the priesthood in Jerusalem, were doomed, was the " new covenant " between each individual and his God. For these, conduct rested on an internal, personal, spiritual conviction or faith, the " law in the heart ", " a heart to know Me that I am the Lord ". (Jer., xxiv, 7.) This was the divine gift to individuals exiled and dispersed " for their comfort "; and while it was true in principle that " ye are all the Lord's prophets ", the " new covenant " found its spokesmen, as before, in " prophecy ". In any synagogue of the Dispersal, every worshipper was free to rise and speak either on some passage of the written " Law ", or from the heart.

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[1] The Charter of Cyrus itself was mislaid, and eventually found in the archives of Ecbatana: for the Achaemenid Empire, like British India and modern Persia had several capitals; and the real capital was wherever the king happened to be. Ecbatana was the Persian Holyrood.

On the other hand, " Return " and " restoration ", under Cyrus and his successors, meant a " new covenant ", nation-wide and political rather than ethical; a new polity, *hierocratic* rather than theocratic; a new law, over-written upon the old, and minutely elaborating it, formally confirmed by political and legislative act, and maintained less by the prince or secular monarch, the successor of the Kings of Israel and Judah, but at the same time the " prince " or secular vassal of the King of Kings, than by the High Priest as head of a Church, which, however, nation-wide ideally, was limited in fact to those who had returned from Captivity, or were approved and co-opted by them.

It was this exclusive community, governed by its purged but hereditary priesthood in accordance with a written code of conduct, which achieved under royal charter the refortification of Jerusalem, and the rebuilding of the Temple. Accusations from a mixed proletariate, outside the walls and the covenant, that independent kingship was its goal, were obvious slander, and usually so regarded by the King of Kings. It was he moreover who had granted the charter, and the law of the Medes and Persians altereth not. At most, to make all secure, he tolerated, or established, on Mount Gerizim, a rival Samaritan sanctuary and rule of Law.

If we were looking for a parallel, in Greek history, to the restored Temple-community in Jerusalem, we should find it, I think, in the reformed puritanical Sparta of the sixth century, reactionary against all that was going on in that age, and eventually the rallying-point and patron of all other reactionaries. Why Sparta did not " Medize " is a question too difficult to answer here. My own conjecture is that, if Demaratus had exiled Cleomenes, he would have done homage to Darius.

AN UNKNOWN ARAMAIC CURSIVE

By SOLOMON A. BIRNBAUM

IN the issue of the QUARTERLY for July-October, 1952, (pp. 118–120) the present writer offered a provisional transliteration of one of the fragments recently discovered in the Wadi Murabba'ât caves and written in an unknown cursive (Pl. XXVIII, 2). The following lines contain the palaeographical examination, referred to there, on which the decipherment and the date assigned to the document were based

In view of the scantiness of the material the number of absent or doubtful letters is surprisingly small. As more fragments in this script appear to exist[1], their eventual publication will presumably clear up these doubts and make it possible to fill the gaps. In the meantime here is our examination.

For comparison with the Murabba'ât script we have utilised the three alphabets which are obviously most closely related to it, those constituting the southern group of the Aramaic branch: Palmyrene, Nabataean and Hebrew. Extant Palmyrene and Nabataean material[2] covers three to four centuries around the Christian Era and so, of course, the Hebrew script of the corresponding period has been used.[3]

In the Palmyrene and Nabataean sections of the Chart (pp. 30–31) specimens from various inscriptions are assembled. The Hebrew section (taken from my forthcoming book *The Hebrew Scripts*) represents the following:

1	Tobias Inscription.
2	Gezer Sabbath Boundary Stones.
3*a*, 3*b*	Hymns Scroll.

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[1] The *Manchester Guardian* report spoke of the discovery of "manuscripts" in this alphabet.

[2] Re the comparison of pen-written and engraved scripts: The difference in medium must be taken into account but that does not mean that comparison between scripts written on different media is inadmissible in principle. This holds good even for comparison between pen-written style and lapidary style (provided that due care and discretion is exercised). Not every writing on stone is however in lapidary style. As a matter of fact, in our material it is generally not. As far as Hebrew is concerned, a real lapidary style never developed. The few inscriptions we have are simply pen-written forms transferred to stone. *Cf.* also p. 18 of my monograph *The Qumrân (Dead Sea) Scrolls and Palaeography* (Baltimore, 1952).

[3] From the letters in our Fragment which are unmistakeable, a general idea as to their time will be so clear to anyone acquainted with the development of the Aramaic alphabet that it would be quite irrelevant to cumber up our study by assembling comparative material from so late a time as the Middle Ages. *Cf.* my remark in the *Quarterly*, 84, p. 94, lines 14–17.

4*a*, 4*b*	Ossuaries.
5*a*, 5*b*	Uzziah Tablet.
6	Queen Helena Graffito.

I have drawn the alphabets of the Murabba'ât Fragment and of Hebrew 1, 4, 5, 6 from original photos, the other alphabets from photographic reproductions. I have given the most common forms, and occasionally, in addition, forms that have been specially mentioned in this article.

ALEPH

Aleph was difficult to decipher. It consists of two strokes only. A faintly arched top stroke, sloping a little to the right, is joined on the left to the top of a slightly curved downstroke, which slants gently leftwards.

Let us first consider how this form could have arisen. We shall take as our starting point the form the Aramaic aleph had in the 3rd century B.C.E., i.e., the century preceding the period we are dealing with. Its short left-hand stroke might have undergone a gradual lengthening while its point of issue from the main stroke was raised until it reached the top.[4] At a subsequent stage, instead of adding the right- and left-hand strokes to the initial main stroke, the writer would gradually have made the whole letter without lifting his pen off the paper. Having started from the top of the right-hand stroke, at the end of it his pen would have moved upwards to the left, making only the upper half of the main stroke, and finally, still without lifting his pen, have added the vertical left-hand downstroke, altogether omitting the lower half of the main stroke.[5] At the next stage the initial tick thus formed would have lost its angle and become a curve; then it would have straightened out, subsequently even becoming very slightly arched. An alternative, possible line of development, leading to our form, might have come about through the gradual stunting of the left-hand stroke of the 3rd century B.C.E. form and its final disappearance into the main stroke. Simultaneously, or later, the stance of the main stroke would have changed until it became upright, while the right-hand stroke no longer ran to somewhere in the middle of the main stroke but joined it on top.

In our Palmyrene material the aleph consists of three strokes. Only in the graffito CIS II : 4180 does one of the three different specimens of this letter resemble Mur.[6] This graffito dates from 160 C.E. Hence Mur might date from approximately the 2nd century C.E.

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[4] Such a form is known to us from Hebrew.

[5] This labour-saving form was independently evolved, at various times and in various groups of Hebrew cursives.

[6] " Mur/Palm/Heb/Nab " denote: " the form the letter in question has in the Murabba'ât Fragment/in the Palmyrene script/in the Hebrew script/ in the Nabataean script," respectively.

Hebrew has the three-stroke form, so that there would appear to be no close connection between Mur and Heb.[6] A form similar to Mur however occurs in the Beth Phage graffito of the Louvre, with which we shall deal in the next section. If Mur is related to this form, a period shortly before the Christian Era would be the terminus a quo for Mur.

Nabataean, as exemplified in Ḥalaṣa, has originally a plain three-stroke form. In the 1st century B.C.E. we find this aleph has developed into a number of curved strokes meeting at the centre. By the end of the 1st century B.C.E. the full form is replaced, when in initial and medial position, by a cursive one,[7] and by the end of the 1st century C.E. the latter has ousted the full form from the final position too. Hence the divergence between Mur and Nab[6] would have preceded the 1st century B.C.E.

Final Aleph

Our Fragment has a final aleph. It seems to be closely related to the non-final form. Curiously enough, both facts did not become clear to me until after I had identified the two forms independently of each other. To decipher them was not easy, as, in spite of Nabataean, we do not usually think of aleph as a letter with a final form.

Palmyrene has only one form and thus provides no clue to our problem.

Our Hebrew material appears to contain an isolated example of the use of final aleph. In the Beth Phage graffito in the Louvre[8] (1st century B.C.E./C.E.) aleph occurs four times in final position (the one initial specimen is indistinct); the left-hand stroke is missing and the main stroke lengthened downwards. This lengthening clearly indicates its cursive character. The Beth Phage form and Mur bear a considerable resemblance and, if related, Mur would belong to approximately the 1st century B.C.E./C.E.

From shortly before the Christian Era onwards, Nabataean employs the full form at the end of a word, from the second half of the 1st century C.E. onwards the cursive form—formerly used only initially and medially—is transferred to the final position too. This cursive form differs essentially from Mur. The terminus ad quem for the origin of Mur would therefore be earlier than these dates. As a matter of fact, we find a similar form in the oldest Nabataean inscription (of Ḥalaṣa, probably between 120 and 96 B.C.E.[9]). Here the full form is employed initially and an abbreviated one at the end of a word[10]. The latter corresponds to Mur, where however the strokes are differently joined and differently proportioned. Both in Nab and Mur the left end of the upper stroke is joined to the top of the downstroke, but in Mur it coalesces with it lower down; in Ḥalaṣa the upper stroke is short, in Mur it is either much longer than the lower stroke or else of roughly equal length. Nowhere after Ḥalaṣa do we find a similar shape in Nabataean, hence the 2nd century B.C.E. would be the terminus ad quem for the origin of Mur.

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[7] Its origin is clearly traceable in the inscription CIS II : 163 (Littmann, Nab. Inscr., 100; Cantineau, Nab., vol. II, p. 12, Hauran I).

[8] R. Dussaud, *Syria*, 4, 241.

[9] A. Cowley, *Palestine Exploration Fund Annual*, 1914, p. 145.

[10] The letter is at the end of the line, near the edge of the stone, and may be mutilated though the photo of the rubbing does not seem to favour such an assumption.

Beth

A short straight vertical top stroke curves into a short downstroke which slants to the left. Top stroke and transition curve may also be combined to form a straight stroke which slopes rightward. The downstroke runs to the base but does not always reach it. The base is a short curve or angle.

In contrast with Mur, the top stroke of lapidary Palm[6] is a down-curve. In cursive Palm, however, straight top bars are the rule—the earliest specimen known to me being of 113 C.E.[11]

In Heb the top part, from being a tick, becomes a straight bar in the Ossuaries period (1st century B.C.E./C.E.), but on the left of this bar there is a remnant of the earlier structure. Nothing of that kind survives in Mur. However, this feature is occasionally lacking in Heb too. The letter in the Beth Phage graffito (see above, under final aleph) is almost identical with Mur, except that while the former has a straight base, the latter generally has a curved one. Thus, as far as Heb is concerned, Mur would be somewhat later, and the 1st cent. B.C.E./C.E. would perhaps only be the terminus a quo for Mur.

In Nabataean, from the Christian Era onwards, the full form seems to be hardly used outside the final position, and after the 1st cent. C.E. it disappears here too. Shortly before the Christian Era a cursive form which has lost the top stroke enters the scene. Hence Mur would have parted ways with Nab before the late 1st cent. B.C.E. And even for that period the idea of a close relationship between Mur and Nab is not attractive because a straight top stroke is of only exceptional occurrence in Nab.

The bottom part of Mur might have come about in this way: The base was not written from right to left as a continuation of the downstroke, but was started independently on the left. Hence the hand easily went beyond the end of the downstroke. This development presupposes an approximately rectangular corner at the base, because a very obtuse angle or a wide curve offer no inducement for the hand to leave the paper and to start the base from the other side.

This corner is to be found throughout in Palm, i.e., 1st cent. B.C.E.–3rd cent. C.E., which period might then be the terminus a quo for Mur.

Heb has this corner from the 2nd cent. B.C.E. onwards. In the 1st cent. C.E., or perhaps somewhat earlier, the base projects to the right. That time might then be the terminus a quo of Mur.

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[11] CIS II : 4374.

DALETH

Daleth is a wavy line or zigzag. It proved rather troublesome to decipher. It looks like a nûn in 3rd cent. B.C.E. Hebrew and therefore not unlike the Palm lapidary nûn. It also resembles a certain infrequent form of Nabataean yodh, which has a somewhat flattened appearance. In addition, the Murabba'ât ayin looks temptingly like the daleth of Palmyrene, early Nabataean and Hebrew, prevalent during many centuries from pre-Christian times onwards, so that the decipherer is misled into trying to find other values for the real daleth. Furthermore, our sign does not resemble the Palmyrene, Hebrew and Nabataean daleth—its greatest similarity being with the daleth in the Nabataean inscription of 124 C.E. (Littmann, Nab. Inscr., p. 25).

Our form very likely developed from a type with a formalised horizontal top bar which was joined to the top of the downstroke, because, if the top stroke had reached the downstroke at a point lower than its top, the two strokes could not have curved into each other.

In Palm and Heb they never do.

In Nab this process begins just before the Christian Era, which would therefore be the terminus a quo of Mur.

HÊ

This is one of the few letters in the Fragment about whose identity there could have been no doubt, revealing the script as belonging to the Aramaic group.

The top stroke is short, slightly arched and in a horizontal position. A straight slanting specimen occurs in line 2. The top stroke joins the right-hand downstroke below the line ceiling. The downstroke has a rightward curvature, but there are also rather straight forms. The left-hand downstroke—straight or curved—generally slants from the juncture of the other two strokes but is sometimes severed from that point.

While in Palm the top stroke is straight and long, in Mur it is generally curved and rather short. Mur could therefore hardly be later than the early 1st cent. B.C.E. By the beginning of the 1st cent. C.E. the difference is considerable and the divergence increases rapidly.

Heb of the 2nd cent. B.C.E. is more advanced in its development than Mur—the left downstroke has moved somewhat to the left. Hence Mur would be older than that time. 3rd cent. B.C.E. Heb is differentiated from Mur in the same way as pre-Christian Palm is from Mur. The early 3rd cent. B.C.E. would therefore be the terminus a quo for Mur.

The earliest Nabataean inscription contains two hês: both differ from Mur in that the top stroke is full-sized and slanting; in one the left-hand downstroke is short and slants from the inner corner; in the other it is very short, parallel with the right-hand downstroke and severed from the top stroke. Mur is considerably less advanced in its development; hence divergence from Nab would have started before the 2nd cent. B.C.E. Furthermore, it is without a final form, while Nabataean already has one in the early 1st cent. B.C.E. The existence of a final form is, of course, a cursive feature and this form might therefore be expected in a cursive document like Mur if the script were Nabataean and younger than the 2nd cent. B.C.E. Its absence indicates that the two scripts must have diverged not later than in the 2nd cent. B.C.E.

WAW

Waw is either a slightly rounded angle whose upper arm is somewhat shorter than the lower one, or a plain, gently curved stroke.

From our earliest material onwards Palmyrene has an entirely different form. Even in the cursive inscriptions it is very remote from Mur. A terminus a quo later than the 2nd cent. B.C.E. would therefore seem to be unlikely.

By the 4th/3rd cent. B.C.E. Hebrew has already reached the form we see in Mur. As Heb is straightening out in the 1st cent B.C.E., a connection between Heb and Mur would have to precede this date.

From the 1st cent. B.C.E. onwards Nab differs so much from Mur that the latest possible connection must be put at the 2nd cent. B.C.E.

ḤETH

The two specimens look somewhat different but are of identical construction: two vertical shafts are linked by a slanting and very short bridge.

Palm is identical.

In Hebrew a half-developed form of this type occurs in the 3rd cent. B.C.E. but it is rare. In the older type—with a horizontal bridge—by the 1st cent. B.C.E. the cross stroke has started moving towards the line ceiling. Hence a connection between Heb and Mur would have to precede that period.

In Ḥalaṣa the cross stroke is on top and, although less extreme forms occur, this remains the rule in Nabataean. Shortly before the Christian Era we come upon a cursive form where the left-hand stroke has lost its top. No trace of such a development is to be found in our document. Mur and Nab would therefore have started diverging by the early 1st cent. B.C.E. at latest.

TETH

Teth looks like an angular, recumbent letter S.

Palmyrene has nothing similar to Mur, so that any connection between Mur and Palm would have had to precede our earliest Palmyrene material (1st cent. B.C.E.).

Hebrew shows no trace of this development either. But a chronological inference cannot be drawn until we have discussed the derivation of our form.

Nabataean has it shortly before and during the 1st cent. C.E.,[12] although the older type does not go out of use. It is clearly of cursive origin: first the left stroke was made, then the hand, instead of leaving the paper to begin the right-hand part of the letter near the line ceiling, slid along the paper on its way to the top. Finally the curve stopped being run back to the left-hand stroke. Alternatively we might derive our shape from a teth whose right-hand stroke touched the left one to begin with.[13] The principle is the same: the hand runs straight from the bottom of the left-hand stroke in an upward direction to form the right-hand part.

It appears to be less likely that this development took place in Nab and Mur independently of each other, than that we are here dealing with one and the same event. Thus, according to teth, the relationship between the two scripts seems to be rather close. Hence the earliest possible date would be the 1st cent. B.C.E.

We can now discuss the chronological aspect in relation to Heb. The form from which we derived Nab and Mur—where the right and left parts are of roughly the same height—begins to appear in Hebrew in the 2nd cent. B.C.E. although specimens with the tall left-hand stroke do not disappear before the 1st cent. B.C.E., it seems. Hence the terminus a quo for Mur would be the 2nd cent. B.C.E.

Yodh

Yodh is a more or less straight vertical stroke, either practically of line height or appreciably shorter.

Palm is at first an angle of about 90 degrees, open at the bottom, later it becomes rounded; at the same time its position gradually changes, clockwise, from horizontal to slanting. By the last quarter of the 2nd cent. C.E. it is vertical. The 3rd cent. C.E. would then be the terminus a quo, if we derive Mur from Palm by assuming a flattening or straightening out of the curve.

In Hebrew in the Ossuaries period (1st cent. B.C.E./C.E.) we now and then meet with straight forms without a head, corresponding to Mur. Accordingly the terminus a quo for Mur would be about the 1st cent. B.C.E./C.E.

As to Nabataean, the yodh of Ḥalaṣa, continuing one of the 3rd cent. B.C.E. Aramaic types, can hardly be the source of our form. In the early

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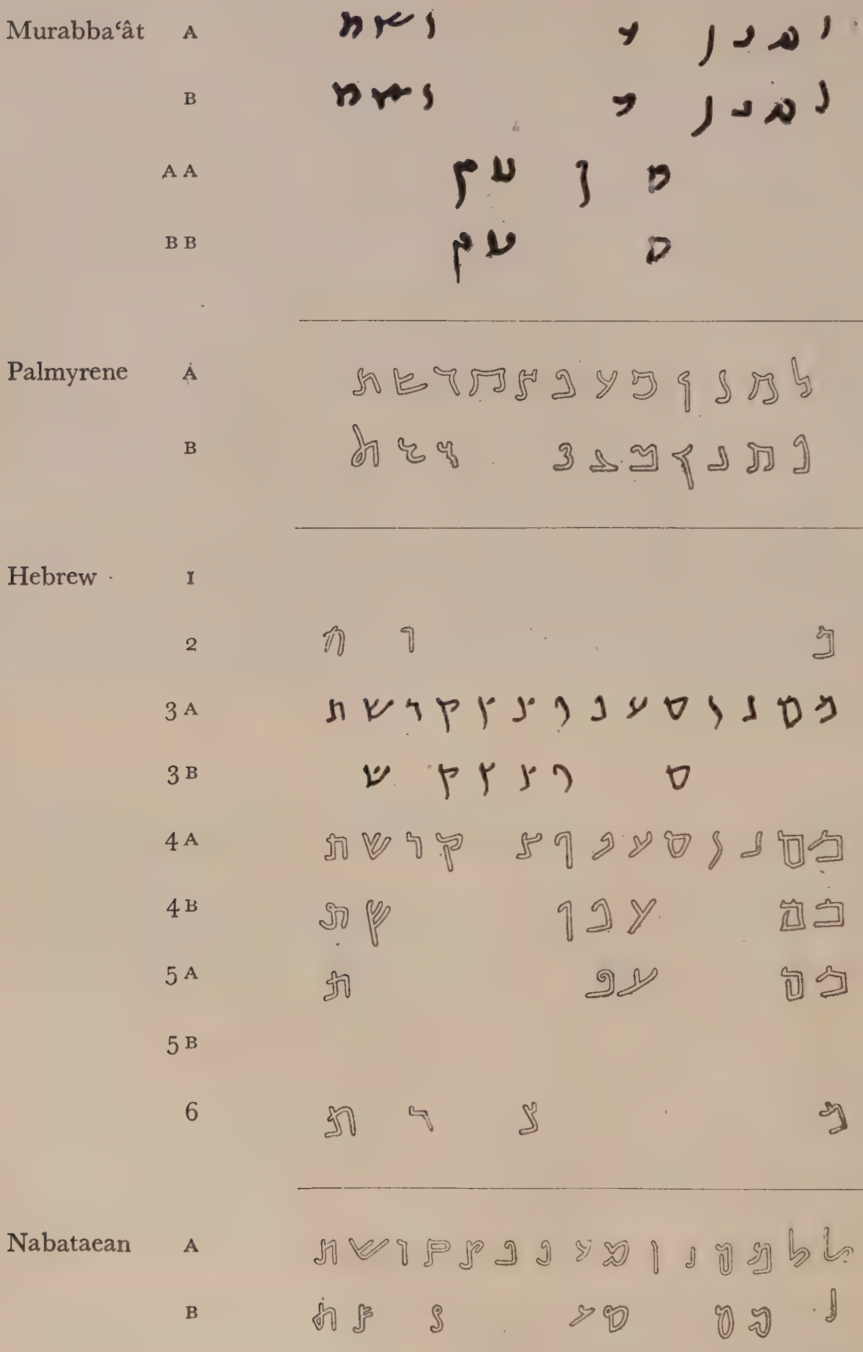
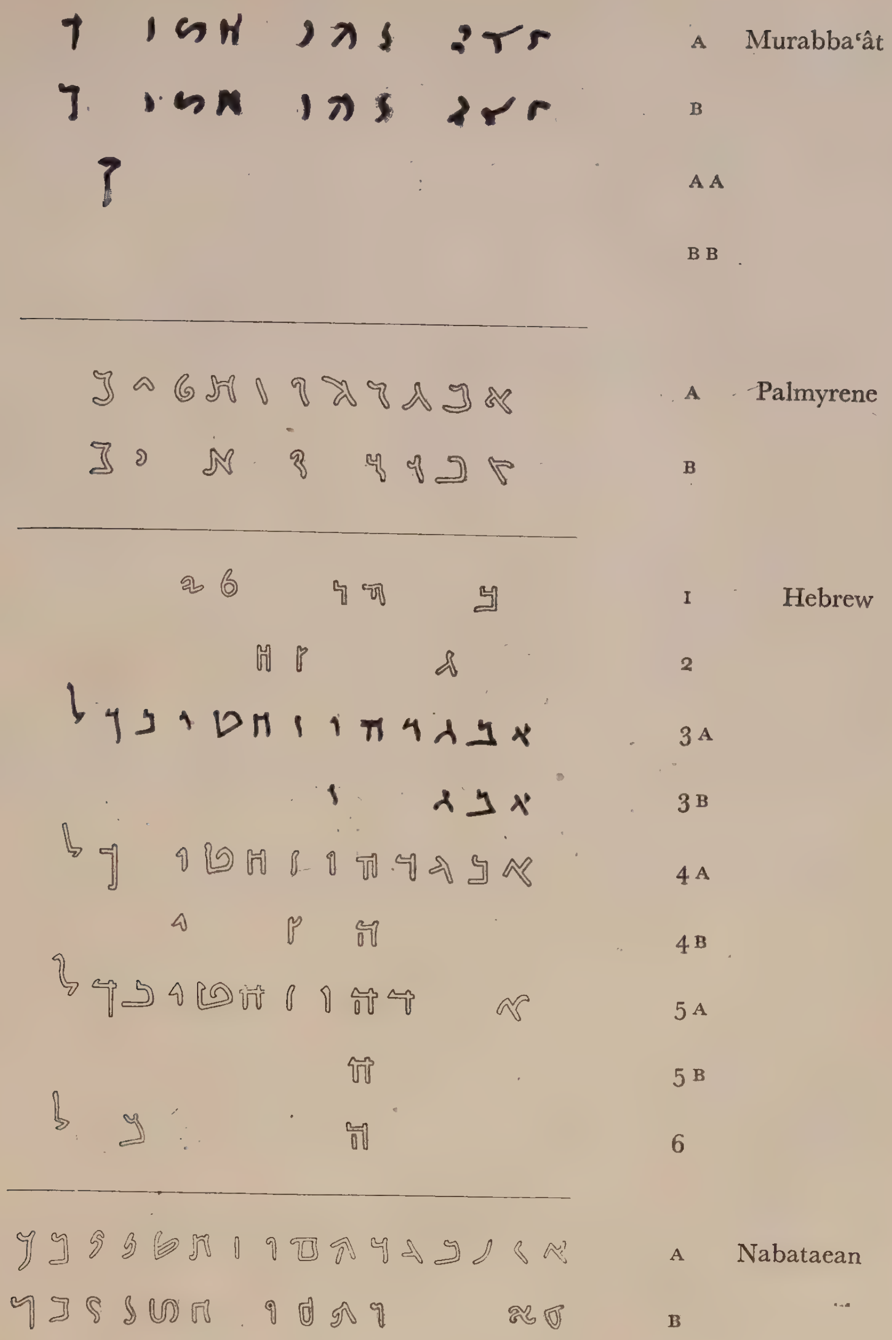
[12] No dated examples from a later time seem to exist, but in view of the great frequency of this form at the Wadi Mukattab there is every likelihood that it continued beyond the 1st cent. C.E.

[13] This type occurs at various times in Aramaic script.


Murabba'ât
A
B
A A
B B
Palmyrene
A
B
Hebrew
1
2
3 A
3 B
4 A
4 B
5 A
5 B
6
Nabataean
A
B

Alphabets of


A Murabba'ât
B
AA
BB
A Palmyrene
B
1 Hebrew
2
3A
3B
4A
4B
5A
5B
6
A Nabataean
B

the Four Scripts.

1st cent. B.C.E. Nabataean begins to develop—from another of the 3rd cent. B.C.E. types—a very characteristic form which attains to full line height before the Christian Era. It is hardly probable that Mur is descended from a certain somewhat flattened type, approximating to a wavy line, which is occasionally to be met with.

The same applies to the final form occurring in Nabataean from the beginning of the Christian Era onwards.

Hence the only possibility of a connection between Mur and Nab is during the 2nd cent. B.C.E. The 3rd cent. B.C.E. Aramaic form consisting of a slanting downstroke, from the end of which a curve slants rightward, became in Nab fuller, rounder and bigger, in Mur, on the other hand, flatter, a wavy line, and finally short and straightish.

Kaph

The identification of the second letter in line 13 as kaph is doubtful. One more example might have settled the question. (See qoph.)

The top stroke is straight and horizontal.

In all our examples of lapidary Palm, the top stroke is a down-curve, and even in the cursive of the 2nd and 3rd cent. C.E. it seems rarely to be straight. This would indicate that a connection with Mur could not antedate the 2nd cent. C.E.

In Heb there are now and then some rather straight cursive top strokes from the 3rd cent. B.C.E. onwards, but it is only slowly that this feature becomes increasingly frequent. The 3rd–1st cent. B.C.E. might be given as the terminus a quo for Mur.

In Nabataean, from the 1st cent. B.C.E. onwards, we not rarely meet with the straight top stroke. That century seems therefore to be the earliest possible providing a link with Mur.

The downstroke of Mur is a wavy line.

In Palmyrene this is always a lapidary form. In the cursive inscriptions straight downstrokes also occur, our earliest specimen belonging to the 2nd cent. C.E. Thus Mur might possibly be from round about this period.

In Hebrew by the beginning of the Christian Era the wavy form has practically disappeared. Hence the connection between Mur and Heb could not be later than the 2nd/1st cent. B.C.E.

In Nabataean the wavy downstroke is an exception. The Agrippa inscription[14] has it. That would make a connection between Mur and Nab possible as late as in the 1st cent. C.E.

The downstroke of Mur is long and seems to end vertically, or with a very slight bend leftwards.

In lapidary Palmyrene there is always a big curve at the bottom, in cursive a straight base. Hence the terminus a quo for Mur would precede our earliest Palmyrene material.

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[14] Littmann, Nab. Inscr., No. 102.

In Hebrew by the 3rd cent. B.C.E. there is already a big curve at the bottom, or a straightish base. Hence the point of divergence of Mur and Heb would have been earlier than that.

By the 2nd cent. B.C.E., Nab has a straight base so that Mur would have to be derived from an earlier form.

Final Kaph

Our Fragment has a final kaph.

Palmyrene has not. Hence the connection between the two scripts would have to precede the beginnings of our Palmyrene material.

Hebrew has a final form from the 3rd cent. B.C.E. onwards. This is accordingly the terminus a quo for Mur.

Nabataean has a final kaph from the beginning of our material. Thus the 2nd cent. B.C.E. is the earliest possible time for a connection between Mur and Nab.

In Murabba‘ât the letter consists of a horizontal top bar—with or without (?) the tick on the left—and a vertical downstroke on the right.

In Heb the top tick or curve begins to straighten out in the 1st cent. B.C.E./C.E. which is therefore the terminus a quo for Mur.

In Nab, while the top curve is not rarely rather shallow, it does not become straight.

Forms with straight downstrokes are known to us in Hebrew from the 2nd/1st cent. B.C.E. onwards, and this would accordingly be the terminus a quo for Mur.

In Nabataean straight downstrokes occur in our material from about the 1st cent. B.C.E. onwards which would therefore be the terminus a quo for Mur.

In Heb, as in Mur, we find both features together—horizontal top bar and straight downstroke—from the 1st cent. B.C.E. onwards.

In Nab they are not combined.

Lamedh

Lamedh is another of the letters identifiable at first sight. It is a long, or longish, straight or slightly curved stroke above the line ceiling, generally reaching well into the middle of the line height. At the end it turns to the left and—unless it is the final of a word—tends to run into the subsequent letter or even to be linked with the beginning of it.

Both forms of Palm preclude a close connection with Mur.

Nor is there a corresponding form in Hebrew. Hence Mur and Heb could not have diverged later than the 3rd/2nd cent. B.C.E.

In Nabataean a cursive form is already in use before the Christian Era, together with a full one. Hence the 1st cent. B.C.E. is the terminus a quo for Mur.

MEM

Mem is a kind of oval, imperfectly closed on the top left; from here a stroke slants down leftwards.

No similar form occurs in Palmyrene, where the letter is open at the bottom. Hence any connection between Mur and Palm would antedate the 1st cent. B.C.E.

Heb, on the other hand, like Mur is closed at the bottom. This form is known to us from the 2nd cent. B.C.E. onwards. As to the little gap in Mur, it recalls the gap we sometimes see from the Ossuaries period onwards. Two isolated specimens[15] tally with Mur: they are round and have the downstroke.

Nab is closed at the bottom from shortly before the Christian Era onwards, and in the final form already in the early 1st cent. B.C.E. There is frequently a gap on the left. This feature is already present in the final mem of the same inscription. Frequently Nab is similar to Mur or virtually identical with it. Hence the 1st cent. B.C.E. is the terminus a quo for Mur.

Our Fragment is without a final mem.

Palmyrene has none either. But its mem differs completely from Mur. Hence their connection would have to antedate our earliest Palmyrene material.

Hebrew has the double form from the 2nd cent. B.C.E. onwards. Hence Mur and Hebrew forms would have parted ways before that period.

Nabataean, too, has two forms. Our first example is in the early 1st cent. B.C.E.[16], indicating that Mur and Nab must have diverged at latest in the 2nd cent. B.C.E.

NÛN

The nûn in line 9 is small, the specimen in line 2 medium-sized; in both the top is rather vertical. If the sign before the final nûn in line 8 is a nûn, it is of line height and the top is bent leftwards.

Lapidary Palm is a wavy line with a big curve at the bottom. The cursive form, however, corresponds to Mur, though not in every detail. Our earliest specimen is of the 2nd cent. C.E. and this period might therefore be the terminus a quo for Mur.

Hebrew has similar forms. The downstroke, especially its top part, begins to straighten out in the 3rd cent. B.C.E., which might then be a terminus a quo for Mur.

Nab, too, is similar from the time of our earliest specimens onwards so that the 2nd cent. B.C.E. would be the terminus a quo for Mur.

FINAL NÛN

Final nûn is a long downstroke the lower half of which slants to the left.

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[15] Hebrew University, ossuary graffiti, Judah b. Amram and Johanan b. Amram.

[16] J. Cantineau, Nabatéen, vol. 2, p. 1.

Palm is very different. The lapidary form has a big initial curve, which later becomes a very acute angle. The latter type is the only one represented in the cursive. Hence any connection between Mur and Palm precedes our earliest Palmyrene material.

In Hebrew, forms resembling Mur begin to emerge in the Ossuaries period. The 1st cent. B.C.E./C.E. would therefore be the terminus a quo for Mur.

In Nab, the top part retains traces of the earlier curve. Hence Mur would have originated before the time of our earliest Nabataean specimens, which are from just before the Christian Era (there happen to be no final nûns in the earlier inscriptions). The rest of the letter is always straight, indicating the same terminus.

SAMEKH

The first letter of line 8 seems to be a samekh, mutilated at the bottom. The full form would be rather triangular. The mutilated tenth letter of line 10 may also be a samekh.

A great deal of development has taken place in Palm since the 3rd cent. B.C.E. Aramaic form. But it is still a wide open letter. No later contact with Mur than well before our earliest Palmyrene material seems possible.

Heb tallies with Mur. The triangular shape is reached by the 1st cent. B.C.E.

A corresponding but practically quadrangular form appears in the early 1st cent. B.C.E. in Nabataean, rounded specimens shortly before the Christian Era, and mainly triangular outlines in the Christian centuries. In Nab the left stroke and the top one cross each other, often—as already in Ḥalaṣa—forming a loop. As this feature is absent in Mur, divergence between Nab and Mur is to be assumed before the time of our oldest Nabataean specimen—(early 1st cent. B.C.E.).

AYIN

This letter is one of those in the Fragment which appear to be quite unmistakeable, once they have been deciphered, but are very misleading before. It might be a daleth or resh in any Aramaic cursive from the 6th cent. B.C.E. onwards, and even a gimel—of some late period—would not be impossible.

Ayin consists of a straightish or slightly curved downstroke of line height, joined on the left, very near the top or somewhat lower down, by a short down-curve.

Lapidary Palmyrene is of an earlier type, with the left-hand curve meeting the right one in the middle. Cursive Palm, on the other hand, is much more developed than Mur, the left stroke running to the top of the other, which is in a horizontal position. Our earliest dated cursive specimen is of 113 C.E.[17], giving us the 1st cent. C.E. as the latest possible date for Mur.

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[17] CIS II: 4374.

Hebrew, from the 2nd cent. B.C.E. onwards, has the same form as lapidary Palm.

In Ḥalaṣa the right stroke projects only very little below its juncture with the left one. Hence it seems that in Nab of the 2nd cent. B.C.E. this development was still in its initial stages. But not much later—in the 1st cent. B.C.E.—in Nabataean, too, the form with the fully lengthened right-hand stroke is in use, and already at the end of that century we here meet with the forms which we see in Murabba'ât.

PE

The fourth letter of line 6 is possibly a pe.

Palm is very different, so that any connection between Mur and Palm would have to precede our earliest Palmyrene material (1st cent. B.C.E.).

The top part of Mur is not too unlike the 3rd cent. B.C.E. Heb, where, however, not much later a pointed top had developed. Hence Mur and Heb would have begun diverging at latest in the 3rd cent. B.C.E. During this same period a horizontal base begins to develop in Heb. Mur has only the merest trace of a curve, so that a connection between Mur and Heb would have to antedate the 3rd cent. B.C.E.

In Nab the top part resembles Mur from the 1st to the 3rd cent. C.E. Nab has, however, also a curve at the bottom. Mur and Nab would therefore have parted ways before the time of our earliest Nabataean specimens (4 B.C.E.).[18]

SADHE

Sadhe, being a rare letter, may not be represented in our Fragment. There are, however, some possible candidates.

Is the sign in the middle of line 2 a sadhe, the lower part of whose shaft has disappeared, or have we two letters here: a beth followed by a nûn? The same letter or letters can be seen in line 13, and possibly in line 3, near the end.

If it were a sadhe, the direction of the right stroke—i.e., towards the shaft—might give us a possible connection between Mur and Heb and probably Palm, but not Nab.

The fifth sign of line 2 (= the tenth of line 11 = the first of line 18 = possibly the third/fourth of line 4) may be an alternative possibility. The letter consists of a more or less oval top—which is closed or almost closed—and a long descender issuing from its left end. The right stroke runs towards the shaft. The letter would therefore tally with Palm and Heb but not with Nab. It however differs from all three in being closed, or nearly so, while they all have wide-open forms. Also the complete straightness of this shaft speaks against it being a sadhe, since in all three groups the downstroke has either a base (Heb, from the 3rd cent. B.C.E. onwards) or it at least curves to the left (Palm and Nab).

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[18] Jaussen et Savignac, Mission en Arabie, p. 143, pl. 8.

If the eighth letter of line 13 is not a somewhat deformed taw, it may conceivably be a sadhe. Here, as in the first sign discussed in this section, the originally long shaft would have been shortened. However the right stroke is in the opposite direction than there—it issues from the " shaft ". Hence a connection between Mur and Nab but not with Palm and Heb might be possible.

QOPH

The fifth sign of line 2, etc. (see above, under sadhe) is perhaps rather a qoph than a sadhe.

In Palm both sides are of equal length, i.e., the left stroke is no longer a descender, and the letter is wide open below. If the sign in question is qoph, any connection between Mur and Palm would accordingly have to antedate our Palmyrene material.

In Heb the top part is not, as in our sign, restricted to the right side. A remnant of what was previously the left-hand semi-circle never wholly disappeared, but by the 1st cent. B.C.E. it had become sufficiently small for the letter to have been a possible transition form to Mur. The shaft becomes long in the 2nd cent. B.C.E. Thus the 2nd/1st cent. B.C.E. would be the terminus a quo for Mur.

In Nab the shaft is short in the 1st cent. B.C.E., and the right part very wide, but from the subsequent century onwards the shaft is long and turns leftwards at the bottom, or the shaft is altogether a wavy line while the right part is often practically circular. This would on the whole correspond to Mur, giving us the 1st cent. C.E. as its terminus a quo.

Is the second letter of line 13 perhaps another candidate for qoph? If it were a qoph, then its form would preclude a derivation from Palmyrene.

On the other hand, there might be a bridge to Hebrew, where, in the 1st cent. B.C.E./C.E., forms with a plain straight top bar, which is severed from the shaft, are already in existence. The cursive hand might afterwards have run on from the end of the top bar to the beginning of the shaft[19], producing our form.

Nabataean qoph differs so greatly from our sign that a connection between the two would have to be earlier than our oldest Nabataean inscription.

RESH

Resh greatly resembles daleth but is distinguishable from it: while daleth is a zigzag or fairly regular wavy line, resh is less regular, its parts are less slanting and in its lower half it contains a vertical bit.

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[19] Such a development occurred spontaneously in various medieval and later Hebrew cursives.

Mur differs so greatly from Palm that a connection between the two would have to antedate the extant Palmyrene material. In 2nd and 3rd cent. C.E. Palm a diacritical dot is sometimes placed on top to differentiate it from daleth. In Mur there is none. However, as the dot is not a regular feature in Palmyrene, we should not draw a chronological conclusion from its absence in Mur.

Mur also differs greatly from Heb. At earliest in the 2nd cent. B.C.E. do we find any forms in Hebrew from which Mur could possibly be derived.

As regards Nabataean, the position is similar.

Shîn

The second and third letters of line 2 run into each other, which made it difficult for me to decide how the cluster is to be divided. The right part somehow looked to me like an archaic shîn, and this may perhaps have helped me to recognise the letter itself.

There are two types. One consists of a slanting Z, joined on the left to the middle of a straight, slanting stroke of line height. (The letter looks like a 9th century sadhe.) The other type has a less slanting stroke on the left which ends by turning leftwards; on the right there are two more or less parallel down-curves, so placed that the left end of the right one runs into the left half of the other.

It soon became clear to me that this was not the original, the W-form, but that the left shaft of Mur represented the left-hand stroke of the Aramaic form known to us from the 5th cent. B.C.E. onwards, lengthened downwards however; in writing the right part of Mur, the hand ran from the end of the right stroke—which did not reach the left one—to the top of the middle one, thus re-creating a four-stroke figure, not unlike the original shîn in appearance.

Palmyrene provides no similar type.

Hebrew has however a transition form. In the 1st cent. B.C.E./C.E. the left stroke is considerably lengthened downwards; the first traces of this process are to be met with even earlier[20]. Hence the 1st cent. B.C.E. might be the terminus a quo of Mur.

In Nabataean the old form disappeared at the beginning of the Christian Era. The left-hand stroke had by then become a vertical shaft with a little bend at the bottom, the right strokes were straight and parallel, and virtually always on the upper half of the shaft. This form represents the same transition to Mur as in Heb and would indicate the 1st cent. B.C.E. as the terminus a quo for Mur.

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[20] Such a lengthening also developed independently in the Middle Ages in one of the non-Square scripts of Hebrew.

TAW

Taw is one of the few letters of our Fragment which are unmistakable at first glance.

The earliest specimens of Palm are very similar but without the cursive feature whereby the bottom of the left stroke and the top of the right one are linked up. Instead, in Palm there is a leftward bend at the end of the left stroke. Later (2nd cent. C.E.) this bend is occasionally joined to the top of the right stroke, forming a loop, but by that time the left-hand stroke has become double as long as the right one, in sharp contrast with Mur. Hence the terminus a quo for the latter would be not later than the 1st cent. B.C.E./C.E.

Heb of the 2nd cent. B.C.E. corresponds to the earliest Palm and is thus very close to Mur. Moreover, a cursive form having a loop also occurs. Hence the terminus a quo for Mur would be the 2nd cent. B.C.E.

The oldest Nab differs somewhat from Mur, but by the early 1st cent. B.C.E. it has the form of early Palm and 2nd cent. B.C.E. Heb. From the 1st cent. C.E. onward we now and then find looped forms. Thus the 1st cent. B.C.E. would be the terminus a quo for Mur.

A NOTE

The forms in lines 14–18 differ slightly from those in the rest of the Fragment. One might be tempted to ascribe them to another hand. But there is not enough material to ascertain whether the differences are beyond the normal range of a single hand.

RELATION TO THE OTHER SCRIPTS

Let us now tabulate the features which link our document with Palmyrene, Hebrew or Nabataean respectively.

With Palmyrene: heth, nûn, samekh, ayin, resh, taw; non-existence of final mem.

With Hebrew: beth, heth, yodh, kaph, final kaph, nûn, final nûn, samekh, ayin, resh, taw (once only: final aleph).

With Nabataean: final aleph, daleth, teth, lamedh, mem, nûn, samekh, ayin, resh, shîn, taw; existence of final aleph.

We see that the connection between Mur and Palm is only about half as strong as it is between Mur and each of the other two groups.

Let us now see which features our Fragment shares with any one of the three groups to the exclusion of the other two.

With Palmyrene it has no such common features, apart from the absence of differentiation between final and non-final mem.

With Hebrew it is linked by such features in beth, yodh, final kaph, final nûn.

With Nabataean by features in final aleph, daleth, teth, lamedh, mem, shîn and the existence of a final aleph.

These summaries indicate that the relationship between the script of our Fragment and Palmyrene is very distant; between Murabba'ât and Hebrew the ties are closer, but much less close than between Murabba'ât and Nabataean.

This does not mean that the script of our Fragment must be Nabataean. There appear to be too many differences—e.g., in beth, hê, waw, heth, yodh, final nûn; lack of final hê, lack of final yodh—for us to take it for granted that it is simply the handwritten cursive form of Nabataean. Hence it might be safer to classify it for the time being as a parallel branch to the three groups but much closer to Nabataean than to Palmyrene and Hebrew.

THE DATE

Our comparison between the Murabba'ât and Nabataean forms yielded two kinds of termini.

(I) Termini a quo, giving the earliest times at which the forms in question (or features in them) could have started diverging from a common ancestor:

2nd cent. B.C.E.—final kaph, nûn, ayin, resh; existence of final kaph.
1st cent. B.C.E.—daleth, teth, final kaph, lamedh, mem, shîn, taw.

The fact that no century later than the first B.C.E. is represented in our table, indicates this period to have been the time when the parting of the ways took place between Nabataean and Murabba'ât[21].

(II) Termini ad quem, giving the latest times at which the forms in question (or features in them) could have starting diverging:

(*a*) 2nd cent. B.C.E.—aleph, final aleph, hê, waw, yodh, samekh; non-existence of final hê, non-existence of final mem.

(*b*) 2nd/1st cent. B.C.E.—beth, heth, final nûn.

This table suggests that the divergence between the two scripts dates from the 2nd cent. B.C.E. For (*b*) contains only a fraction as many letters as (*a*), and these might belong equally well to either of the two centuries in question.

Let us now integrate the results of (I) and (II). The fact that the two termini are actually contiguous, suggests that the branching off of Nabataean and Murabba'ât[21] from their common ancestor began round about the time where the two centuries meet—say during the period 150–50 B.C.E. approximately.

While that is not the date of the Fragment itself, we may use it as if it were its terminus a quo. We have, however, no terminus ad quem, the document being our only example of the script. Whether a terminus ad quem based on archaeological or any other evidence exists is not known to me—we may hear about that when the report on this excavation is published.

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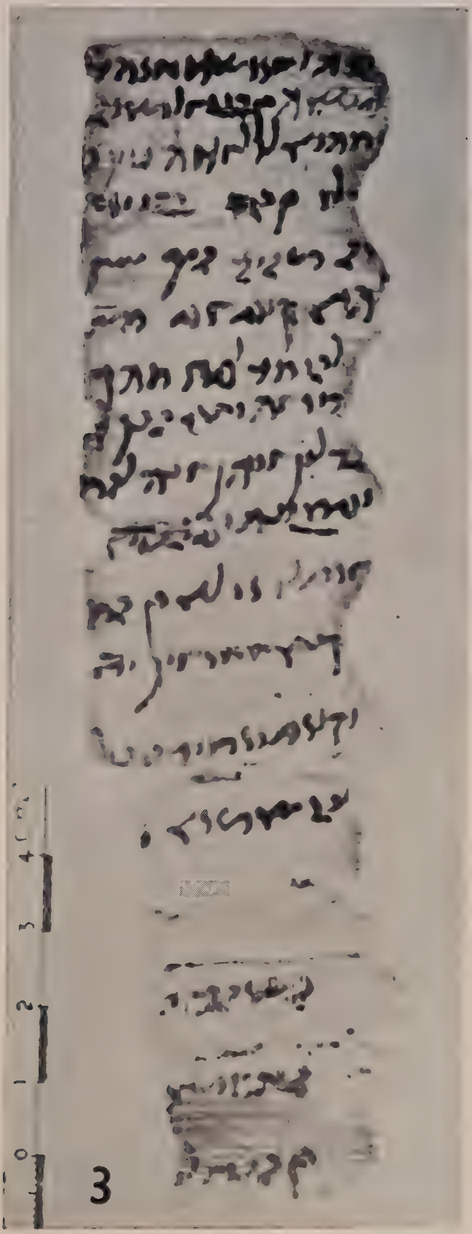
[21] Or between Nabataean Lapidary and Nabataean pen-written Cursive—if additional material in this script and/or other evidence should point to our document(s) having been written by Nabataeans.



MS. fragment from Muraba'at.

In the meantime we shall see what more we can discover by means of palaeography.

If we compare the forms the letters have in the Fragment with those they have at the times of their termini a quo, we see that some hardly differ, or do so only very little. As we are dealing with a cursive—a type of writing which develops at a fairly rapid pace—the interval of time between the two stages must be correspondingly short. Since more than a third of the letters in question show very little development—hê, heth, teth, nûn, samekh, taw—it is likely that the document is not a great deal later than the terminus a quo.

In a couple of letters the difference is slightly more pronounced: waw, final kaph.

The remaining half of the letters, however, show medium to considerable development—aleph, final aleph, beth, yodh, final nûn, ayin, resh, shîn—and it is to these that we must give our main attention.

There is, of course, no yardstick or slide-rule by which to calculate how long the process of development between the beginning of divergence and the writing of our Fragment could have taken. But—judging from experience with other scripts—it seems reasonable to assume that it required quite a few generations, say, six to eight, corresponding to about 150–200 years. That would bring us to round about the second half of the 1st cent. C.E. So perhaps we may hope to be not too far out if we estimate that the Murabbaʿât Fragment was penned during this period or fairly close to it[22].

[22] POSTSCRIPT (March, 1953). I hear from P. R. de Vaux that the script treated of in the above article is not the one referred to in the *Manchester Guardian* article. Thus we may look forward to yet another palaeographical thrill.

ON THE MEANING OF *GOREN*

By Sidney Smith

The proposal to dissociate the meaning of this word in I Kings xxii 10 from that which it bears in all other Old Testament passages, " threshing-floor ", has been argued on two grounds, practical and etymological.[1] The practical reasons amount to disbelief in the possibility of a threshing-floor being sited at a city gate, in an argument from the inconvenience caused by dust, and in an assertion as to the type of gateway described in this passage and its exact situation. The remarkable point in this is the suggestion, implicit in the wording, that there was only one gate of Samaria that could be meant and that its situation is known. Every city had more than one gate. It cannot be proved from excavations yet that gates of one city in use at the same period differed from one another, but it is extremely probable that they did in the older cities. Only a complete new wall, on a site completely cleared, would follow an uninhibited design. At Jerusalem the gateways had different uses, and so they had at other cities. It is unlikely that there was no gate of the en-Nasbeh type at ed-Duweir, where an excellent example of a different type was found. If the symbolic action of Zedekiah in verse 11 is to have its full meaning the demonstration of driving back the Aramaeans points to the gate facing northwards, but no inference can be drawn at all.

Part of the misconception as to gateways is perhaps indicated by what is said of the space within the gate. There were open places in some cases inside gates. Goods were deposited and exchanged there. The find at Tall Far'a very probably indicates some ritual washing and some religious act such as a newly arrived stranger might be expected to perform. But the passage in I Kings xxii 10 concerns a scene too crowded for such a space. The proposal to find in the Septuaginta version of II Samuel iii 27 cause to assume an otherwise unknown reading in the Hebrew text, " behind the gate " or the like, is a misunderstanding of the Greek version. In a great gateway, the guard-chambers were not in a position which affects the story. The Greek says that Joab, through messengers, " turned him (Abner) towards Hebron ", reading the consonantal text of the Hebrew *yāšīḇ*, not *yāšāḇ*. Then come the words *ἐξέκλινεν αὐτὸν Ἰωὰβ ἐκ πλαγίων τῆς πύλης ἐνεδρεύων*: " Joab turned him aside from the flanks of the gateway to talk to him, laying an ambush ". The reader would naturally conclude that Joab met Abner just outside the gate, in the broad recess in the wall which the Duweir gateway has, on either side and in front of the doorway, and led his victim into the narrow passage. The wording is not a literal translation of the Hebrew, but the sense is accurately rendered in such terms as a Hellenistic Jew would understand; whether the type of gateway the translator was thinking of is one which existed at Samaria or not, the translator's version must be understood in this way. Samaria in his time was not the Samaria of Micaiah's.

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[1] *P.E.Q.*, May–October, 1952, p. 112. Points already dealt with in *P.E.Q.*, 1946, 5 ff., are avoided as far as possible.

The etymological argument is based on a text from Ras esh Shamra, and on the statement that the primary meaning of *goren* is " hollow open space ". The text is the story in verse that is now called Aqhat, and the minimum that is required for the understanding of the use of the word *grn* there is quoted in *P.E.Q.*, 1946, 7. The words *adrm dbgrn* are so naturally taken to refer to two things known otherwise to be associated, the *e̱dda̱rā* of Syriac and the *goren* of Hebrew, that some sound reason for dissociating them might justifiably be expected. None has yet been given. There is a positive reason why the rendering " the notables in the open place " should be rejected; it is the occasion described in the text. It is misleading to state as a fact that Daniel in the story is an ancient king; that is interpretation, possibly justifiable, but not a proved truth. It is only partially true to say that he dispensed justice. What is actually said is, that he examined the case of the widow and judged the judgment for, possibly, the orphan. The meaning of this idiom is not doubtful, as lengthy studies of the meaning of *mišpāt* in the Old Testament have shown; to judge judgment for the poor and helpless is to give them succour such as the case merits. The reference in II Kings vi 27 to the proper place for a woman to appeal for help in getting sustenance can be added to those cited in *P.E.Q.*, 1946, 11. The words in Aqhat II v 6 ff. are the earliest description of the assignment of a portion of the grain on the threshing floor to charity, and of the examination of claims to such charity. The age-old custom has continued till today, when true Muslimin still allot the *qiṭʿah* on the threshing floor before anything else is done.

The proposed translation of *tḫt adrm*, " in the place of the notables " follows that propounded in the second edition of C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Handbook*, and adopted by the same scholar in *Ugaritic Literature*, 85, " alongside the dignitaries ". The passage quoted to justify this rendering of a preposition used in Aramaic, Northern and Southern Arabic dialects and in Ethiopic in well ascertained senses, is I Samuel XIV 9, " we will stand *taḥteynū* where we are ". The entry in Brown-Driver-Briggs, 1065 b art. 2 a, concerning the infrequent use of the preposition with the pronominal suffix in such cases provides the correct explanation; " what is under one " is " the place where one stands ". Whatever opinions may be held on the plural forms in such prepositional use, on which see Gesenius-Cowley, art. 103 d and m, art. 124 a, there is no doubt that in such cases the force of the word is still substantival, with adverbial meaning, " we stand on what is under us ", we will not budge. No known passage justifies the transference of this use with pronominal suffixes to the preposition with any noun. The correct translation of *tḫt adrm*, if *adrm* can possibly mean " nobles " when closely connected with *grn*, is either “ under the nobles ”, that is under their authority, or “ instead of the nobles ”. A glance at the context should be sufficient to induce decision on either version. If the preposition could, on sound grammatical and lexicographical considerations, mean “ in the place of the *adrm* ”, and *adrm* means “ nobles ”, then “ in the place of the nobles ” could only mean in their houses or assembly hall. An open place in a gate was not the property of a social class, and the assembly of the elders was not held in a busy spot.

The “ primary ” meaning attributed to *goren* is said to be supported by the Arabic *jurnun*. It is sometimes difficult to be certain about the primary meaning of an Arabic word. In some confusing cases the dictionaries give no clear guidance. That is not the case with *jurnun*, for the entries under *jarana* can be satisfactorily classified[2]. Two, *jirānun*, part of the neck of a camel or of a man, and *jirnun* in the sense “ members of the body ”, have no connection with the rest. The relevant entries in the *Qāmūs* are:—

I. *jarana jurunān*. (1) He became accustomed to the thing; he became hard. (2) Of clothes and armour (*dirʿun*, a coat with metal plates or chains), became rubbed and soft. (3) Of grain, he ground it.

II. *aj-jārūnu*. Young of the snake. The worn track.

III. *aj-jurnu*, with *dhamma*. Or (vocalised) like *emir* or *minbar* (i.e., *jarīnun* or *mijranun*): *al-baidaru*, “ threshing-floor ”.

IV. *ajrana ’t-tamra*. He collected it (the fruit) in it (the *jarīn*).

The *Lisān* puts the points only slightly differently. Of *jarīnun* it says: “ place for grain. Might also be for dates and grapes. The plural is *’ajrūna* or *jurunun*. *baidaru ’l-ḥarth*, the threshing-floor for crops, which may be surrounded with a wall or otherwise enclosed ”. The synonyms *aj-jurnu* and *aj-jarīnu* are treated together, “ place of dates, where they are dried . . . . with respect to dates as *baidar* is to wheat. It is said that *jarīn* means the *baidar*-ground in the Yemeni dialect; according to most, the *jim* is (then) *maksūra* (i.e. the word should be *jirnun*). The plural is *jurun* ”. In the dialect of Hudhail the word *jarīn* is said to mean “ grinding ”. The stone with a cavity, the mortar that is the old hand-mill, is called *aj-jurnu*, exclusively. The entry in Lane has all that is in the Arab dictionaries, but adds at the end: “ *jurnun* is of the dialect of the people of Egypt, who use it as meaning the *baidar* of seed produce, which is sometimes walled round, and its plural is *’ajran* ”. No dictionary of repute renders the word simply “ open space ”. There is no question as to the primary meaning of the verb; it means to rub or grind, and in the causative, to prepare for grinding (or drying fruit) in the same place. The word *jurnun* means primarily something on which grinding is done, a hollow stone mortar[3] or a threshing-floor, and is therefore synonymous with *baidar*. The form *jarīnun*, like other *fa'īl* forms, seems merely a variant.

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[2] Muhammad Muhammad Salim al Garḥ drew my attention to modern Egyptian usage and gave me an Arabic summary from the *Qāmūs*. I am most indebted to Professor Guillaume for explaining these entries and giving me the additional note from Lane. Dr. Fakhry summarised the entry in the Lisān for me and gave me information as to uses of these words in modern Syrian practice. In thanking these scholars I must apologise for any errors of my own.

The refusal of the dictionaries to give the meaning " open space " is the more significant because one of the regular features in Arab villages or small towns is the meeting on the threshing-floor, the best place generally available. Nothing could be more natural than the application to any open space. That development, so far as information available to me goes, is found only in Egypt. An Egyptian friend tells me that in some country towns in Egypt the word *gurn* is applied to level depressions where children play. Whether " piazza " is a permissible translation even of this local and apparently fairly recent development depends on how loosely the Italian word is used. It seems a strange word for a space like that in the Aqhat passage, " in the nose of the gate ".

The summary of the dictionary entries should surely lead to one conclusion. The word *baidar* is, judged by its form alone, a loan word in Arabic, and it is not a natural form in any Semitic language. Dalman explained it (and the plural formed from it on the basis of analogy), clearly and correctly. The regular abbreviation of *bayt* through late Aramaic to *bey* produced *bey 'idderē*, the plot of land with *iddere*, the Aramaic cognate of Akkadian *adru*, a word which does not in itself mean " threshing-floor ", and cannot mean " barn " for a very simple reason. No farmer in Babylonia is or ever was so foolish as to store grain during summer in what we should call a barn; he used a silo. In the Ras esh Shamra text *adrm*, under which Daniel sat, are in the *grn*. The *goren* where Micaiah faced the official " prophets " of the king was such a piece of ground.

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[3] al Sayid Y. Bakr has pointed out to me that S. Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, 25, treated Arabic *jurnun* as a loan from Syriac *gūrno*, a stone bath or urn. This is inacceptable. There is no sound reason for treating this as the primary meaning, and the Arabic verb is not denominative.

THE PROBLEM OF THE EXODUS[1]

By M. B. ROWTON

THE problem of the Exodus needs to be re-examined because in one respect the present approach to the problem is seriously deficient from a strictly logical point of view. Explicitly or implicitly the assumption has hitherto been made that Merneptah's defeat of Israel was not an event of outstanding importance in the early history of Israel.[2] This assumption is a perfectly legitimate one, so long as it is taken merely as a basis for one of two alternative approaches to the problem. What is not permissible is to view it as an *a priori* postulate, thereby ruling out in advance the opposite possibility.

In the Merneptah stela we are told that " Israel is desolate, her seed is not ".[3] On the face of it, there is no reason to dismiss the obvious implication, namely that Israel suffered a grave, possibly a disastrous defeat.[4] The known oriental tendency to exaggerate, together with the somewhat poetic wording of the stela, admittedly justify an element of doubt. But this means only that the obvious implication cannot be regarded as the only plausible one, and that both possibilities, both approaches to the problem, need to be examined. It does not mean that to accord the stela full significance is to be ruled out in advance.

The object of the present article is therefore to try and find the most probable solution, when full significance is granted the Merneptah datum. But the writer would like to emphasize at this point that in his opinion the evidence at present available is insufficient to yield a firm solution. Whichever of the two alternative approaches we adopt, the solution that will be reached can only be judged in terms of probability.

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[1] To save space reference where possible will be to H. H. Rowley's admirable work *From Joseph to Joshua* (1950) abbreviated *RJJ*. Most of the problems discussed below, for want of space very briefly, are discussed in full detail in Rowley's work, and with full documentation.

[2] As will be seen from the present article, this assumption has to be regarded as implicit in any discussion that ignores the point altogether. The assumption is explicit in such recent publications as *The Westminster Atlas of the Bible* (1946) 40; W. F. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity* (1946), 212; *RJJ*, 138; J. von Beckerath, *Tanis und Theben* (1951), 66 f.

[3] See Wilson's recent translation in J. B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts* (1950), 376 f.

[4] The victory over the Libyans which is the main subject of the stela, is known from other sources to have been a decisive victory; cf. *B.A.R.*, § 569 f. Can there then be any *a priori* reason for believing that the victory over his lesser opponents in Palestine was any less decisive? There can be no doubt that on the Egyptian evidence alone it would be safest to conclude that the event was one of very real importance, at least to the vanquished; cf. *B.A.R.*, § 606.

I. *The chronological proportions of the problem*

No attempt will be made here to justify the absolute dates given below. The reason is that for the purpose of the present discussion absolute dates are not important. What is important, is to date a given event in Palestinian history, or a given level in Palestinian archaeology, in terms of Egyptian history. Whether for the latter we adopt an absolute scale some twenty years higher or lower, has but little bearing on the problem that confronts us.

In terms of Egyptian history we shall date as follows.

(I) End of Beth-Shan IX, end of Br. Age Jericho and Bethel about the beginning of Dyn. XIX, ca. 1305.

(II) End of Megiddo VIIB, Beth-Shan VII and Mersim C2: about the time of the invasion of the Sea Peoples early in the reign of Ramesses III, ca. 1170.

(III) End of Megiddo VIIA, end of Egyptian rule in Palestine, battle of Taanach between Barak and Sisera: about the time of Ramesses VI, ca. 1125.

Maisler's lower dating is accepted for (II) above on the basis of his conclusion that the Megiddo treasure room which dates to the reign of Ramesses III has to be assigned to level VIIB, and not as hitherto to VIIA. This of course brings down the date of the end of VIIB to Ramesses III, and as Beth-Shan VII and Mersim C2 in their last phase have the same pottery as the last phase of Megiddo VIIB, their date must be reduced to the same approximate level.[5]

For (I), however, Maisler's conclusion cannot be accepted that the end of Beth-Shan IX has to be brought down well into the 13th century. This is because the Mycenean pottery of level VIII is still of the type transitional from Myc IIIA to IIIB[6], and Furumark has convincingly demonstrated that this transition coincides roughly with the beginning of Dyn. XIX.[7] And since level VIII was of short duration, the same approximate date has to be kept for the end of the preceding level. The end of this level, level IX, is marked by a total or partial destruction of the city. Now a stela found at Beth-Shan tells us that the town was involved in heavy fighting in the first year of Seti I, and probably changed hands twice. In the course of these events it is likely to have suffered serious, if not total destruction; so that here pottery and monuments agree to indicate the first year of Seti I, ca. 1305, as the probable date of the destruction of Beth-Shan IX.[8]

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[5] See *Bull. of the Israel Expl. Soc.*, XVI, 14 f. For Mersim C2 see Albright, *A.A.S.O.R.*, XII, 38, where the excavator points out the affinity of this level with Beth-Shan VII and VI. For Albright's dating of the Battle of Taanach and the song of Deborah see *loc. cit*, 68, 24 f., and 78, 7 f. Albright's date is accepted by Maisler; see also *RJJ*, 80 f.

[6] F. H. Stubbings, *Mycenean Pottery from the Levant* (1951), 62 and 105.

[7] A. Furumark, *The Chronology of Mycenean Pottery* (1941), 110 f., particularly 114. On the Gurob material see also Stubbings, *op. cit.*, 94 f.

At Jericho the latest Br. Age pottery is a little later than Beth-Shan IX[9], so that for this site a date early in the reign of Ramesses II is indicated. Indeed the close resemblance between the native Canaanite pottery of Jericho and that of demonstrably 13th century Abu Hawam V is itself sufficient to show that the end of L.B. Jericho can no longer be dated early, or even middle 14th century.[10] The scarcity of pottery in the final level of L.B. Bethel precludes close dating of this level on the evidence of the pottery alone.[11] But Albright is almost certainly right in concluding that the O.T. story of the destruction of Ay originally referred to Bethel.[12] Consequently since the O.T. account puts the destruction of Ay at the same time as the destruction of Jericho, it seems safest, in the complete lack of any evidence to the contrary, to accept the testimony of the O.T. and date the end of Canaanite Bethel to the same time as the end of the last Canaanite city or settlement at Jericho, that is early in the reign of Ramesses II.

We must now review the various dates that have been suggested for the Exodus. The result of Maisler's comparative study of the Beth-Shan and Megiddo potteries, showing as it does that the date of Beth-Shan IX has to be lowered, and with it Jericho, finally rules out a date for the Exodus prior to the beginning of Dyn XIX even though the reduction is not as great as Maisler suggests. For it comes on top of so much other evidence pointing to the same conclusion.[13]

Below this upper limit three dates have been suggested which deserve very serious consideration. I will take them in turn, from the highest to the lowest, pointing out the grave objections that exist to each and every one of them.

First we have Albright's solution. Albright distinguishes two exoduses, the

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[8] For recent translations of this stela see Fairman, *J.E.A.*, XXXIII, 36; Wilson in J. B. Pritchard, *op. cit.*, 253; Edel in K. Galling, *Textbuch zur Geschichte Israels* (1950), 31 f. I have asked Professor Edgerton whether in his opinion it is necessary to translate " he is (in the process) of seizing " as do Fairman and Wilson, against Edel's " he has seized ". I am grateful for permission to quote him: " I see no reason why this sentence should not mean ' has taken Beth-Shan ', and in fact I think that that is the meaning, although in another context the time could also be present ". The listing of the city among those captured by Seti I indicates that it did fall; see on this point Noth, *Z.D.P.V.*, LX, 215 f. This is a point of considerable importance, for it provides us with the first exact date for a Br. Age level in Palestine. Level VIII must correspond to the first decade or so of Seti's reign, during which, engaged in campaigns and in very extensive building operations in Egypt, he would not have had time to do much for Beth-Shan, the population of which had been deported by the rebels.

[9] On the relation of the Jericho pottery to that of Beth-Shan IX see Kenyon, *P.E.Q.* (1951), 121. Other reasons for not dating the Jericho material below 1300 are discussed by Wright, *B.A.S.O.R.*, 86, 32 f.

[10] On the pottery of Abu Hawam V see Maisler, *B.A.S.O.R.*, 124, 21 f.

[11] W. F. Albright, *The Archaeology of Palestine* (1951), 108 f.

[12] *B.A.S.O.R.*, 74, 15 f.

[13] *RJJ*, 10 f.

Josephites leaving Egypt ca. 1400, the Levites under Moses early in the reign of Ramesses II.[14]

There are four objections to this solution, the first three of which are well known. (i) Neither archaeology, nor the Egyptian records provide any evidence for an Exodus ca. 1400. (ii) For a large group of slave labour to have made good their escape from Egypt, either the Pharaoh must have been a weak one, or if he was not, Egypt must have been going through so great a crisis at the time of the Exodus that its ruler had no time to bother about the defection and escape of a group of slaves. Neither of these conditions are satisfied early in Dyn. XIX, in fact from this point of view, it would be difficult to find any more improbable period of Egyptian history. (iii) If Moses led the Israelites out of Egypt already early in the reign of Ramesses II, and yet the Egyptians maintained themselves in Palestine another 150 years, why is there no mention of them in the Book of Joshua or the Book of Judges?

To these three objections a fourth must be added, which, coming on top of the other three so weakens the case for Albright's solution as to render it distinctly improbable. If Israel left Egypt early in the reign of Ramesses II, stayed for a generation in the desert, and entered Palestine early in the reign of Merneptah, as Albright maintains, then not long after they reached the Promised Land, they were disastrously defeated by Merneptah, as we know from the so-called Israel Stela. But this would mean that hardly had Yahwe brought them to the Promised Land, when he delivered them back into the power of their oppressors. Had this really been the case, the necessity to explain the theological significance of this disaster would have constituted one of the main themes of the O.T. account of Exodus and Conquest. It simply could not have been ignored or overlooked.[15]

Next we have Rowley's solution. Rowley would place the Exodus shortly after the accession of Merneptah, on our chronology ca. 1220, the Conquest some two years later.[16]

This solution does away with the first two objections against Albright's solution, the first because Rowley does not postulate a separate Exodus of the Josephites, the second because the beginning of Merneptah's reign was indeed a period of great crisis in Egypt, the conditions thus being eminently favourable for the escape of a large group of slave labour. On the other hand the third objection to Albright's solution remains valid against Rowley's, for the Egyptians remained in Palestine about 100 years after the accession of Merneptah, so that we would still expect to find mention of them in Joshua or Judges. The fourth objection to Albright's solution tells even more strongly against Rowley's, because we would have to conclude that Merneptah defeated the Israelites almost the very day they reached the Promised Land.

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[14] *B.A.S.O.R.*, 58, 10 f., and 74, 11 f.

[15] The meaning of Exod. 14 : 13 f. seems to be that Yahwe would never again permit the Egyptians to endanger Israel. If this be the correct interpretation, then Schmökel is doubtless right in believing that already the J document knew of no Egyptian defeat of Israel subsequent to the Exodus; cf. *Z.A.W.*, LXII, 319 f.

[16] *RJJ*, 129 f.; for discussion of Albright's and Meek's solutions see 140 f. The latter are discussed more briefly by Wright, *B.A.*, III, 38 f.

On top of this it raises an objection which Albright's solution does not, namely, that Rowley has to deny the tradition according to which the Israelites remained for a generation in the desert. But this datum is one of the essential features of the O.T. account of the Exodus, and it is very difficult to see why it should have been included at all unless it be substantially true.

Finally, we have Meek's solution.[17] According to Meek neither Joshua nor the Josephites were in Egypt, this in spite of the fact that alone, among all the eponym ancestors of the Israelite tribes, Ephraim and Manasseh are explicitly stated to have been born in Egypt. Joshua is stated to have led the Josephite tribes into Palestine, but not from Egypt, during the first half of the 14th century, whereas Moses led the Levites out of Egypt ca. 1200, at about the time of Seti II. Meek's date for the latter event does indeed escape all the objections to the solutions proposed by Albright and Rowley. But by completely divorcing the persons of Moses and Joshua, and by denying the Egyptian origin of the Josephite movement, it raises other objections which, though different, are at least as substantial as those which the solutions of Albright and Rowley have to contend with.

II. *A possible solution*

There is at least one solution available to us which avoids all these objections, and at the same time agrees with the archaeological evidence. In bare outline it is simply this.

There were indeed two exoduses from Egypt, first the Josephites then the Levites, just as Albright has suggested.[18] But the exodus which led to the destruction of Bethel and Jericho is the first one, that of the Josephites and not the second as proposed by Albright.

The Josephites reached Palestine early in the 13th century, and there in Palestine they founded the amphictyony of Israel. The Levites came out of Egypt early in the 12th century, ca. 1170, but did not enter Palestine until about a generation later, ca. 1125. Moses and Joshua belong to the second exodus.

I have stated the solution in advance, anticipating what is really a conclusion to be drawn from the evidence, because I think it will make for greater clarity in the discussion that follows. We must now turn to the evidence for it, taking the archaeological evidence first.

Jericho and Bethel-Ay are closely connected with the Josephite conquest, Debir is just as closely connected with Moses and Caleb. And what do we find? There is a marked gap between the two, the pottery of Jericho being similar to that of levels IX and VIII at Beth-Shan, whereas that of Mersim C2 corresponds to the pottery of levels VII and VI.[19]

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[17] T. J. Meek, *Hebrew Origins* (1950), 43 f.

[18] That there may have been two exoduses from Egypt is also the view of S. H. Hooke, *In the Beginning* (1947), 83; for brief comment see *RJJ*, 6, n. 1.

Next we must turn to the account of the Exodus in the O.T. If there were two exoduses, then the inference must be that in the present text two different but similar episodes have been merged into one. But in that case there should be traces in the O.T. account of the Exodus that two such episodes are involved. And it can be shown that such indeed is the case.

(*One.*) There are two dates for the Exodus. On the one the Temple was built in the 12th generation after the Exodus[20], that is after an interval of 11 generations, ca. 330 years. On the other tradition it was built in the 7th generation[21], i.e., after an interval of 6 generations, ca. 180 years. The one dates the Exodus ca. 1290, the other ca. 1140. The very approximate dates obtained by this method of dating point to early Dyn. XIX for the first exodus, Dyn. XX for the second exodus, in good agreement therefore with the archaeological evidence.

(*Two.*) There are two groups closely connected with the stay in Egypt, the Josephites and the Levites.

(*Three.*) There are two religious leaders, Moses and Aaron. And more than one scholar has argued that Aaron originally had no part in the exodus under Moses, but that he does have to be regarded as the eponym ancestor of the Josephite priesthood.[22]

(*Four.*) There are two traditions as to where the Israelites were circumcised, the Josephite tradition apparently locating the event at Gilgal, the Levitic tradition being that circumcision was practised already during the sojourn in Egypt.[23]

(*Five.*) As we approach Palestine there are two different routes, one by the brook of Zered, the other all the way round Edom.[24]

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[19] The gap in question is evaluated at very roughly a century by Albright. He dates Jericho ca. 1325 within a margin of error of 75 years, Mersim 1225 within a margin of 25 years; see ed. H. C. Alleman and E. E. Flack, *Old Testament Commentary* (1948), 144. The margin of error in the case of Jericho has now been considerably reduced by Maisler's re-examination of the Beth-Shan IX pottery, and his recognition of its affinity with the 13th century pottery of Abu Hawam V; this of course rules out a date early in the 14th century for the Jericho material. See also p. 48 above, and notes 5 and 10.

[20] So interpreting the origin of the total 480 years in I Kings 6 : 1, following *RJJ*, 98.

[21] Ruth 4 : 20–22; see *RJJ*, 77 f. and 161 f.

[22] So for instance Meek, *op. cit.*, 136 f. H. Junker, *Trierische Theol. Zeit.*, LX, 232 f., points out that Jeroboam I could only have expected the calf of Bethel effectively to challenge the ark of Jerusalem, if the former went back to the earliest period of Hebrew tradition; see also Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel* (1946), 219, n. 100. Thus the dual element in the tradition is reflected in the chief cult objects as well as the religious leaders.

[23] The Josephite tradition in Josh. 5 : 2 f., the Levitic tradition in Exod., 12 : 44, 48.

[24] Though harmonising attempts are not wanting, so for instance *Westminster Atlas of the Bible*, 39, the route via Ezion-geber admits of no other logical explanation than a detour of Edom by the East. I hope to discuss this point elsewhere.

(*Six.*) We reach the highlands opposite Jericho only to find two different opponents in one and the same area. Moreover, whereas the defeat of Balak is intimately connected with Yahwe and his servant Moses, in the ancient poem describing the defeat of Sihon we find no mention, either of Yahwe, or of Moses and Joshua.[25]

(*Seven.*) When we cross the Jordan into western Palestine we have two entirely different accounts of the conquest of that area too.[26]

(*Eight.*) At the time of the exodus under Moses there was bitter hostility between those Israelites who were in Egypt and the Egyptians themselves. How then are we to explain the rival tradition according to which the Israelites left Egypt loaded with presents? This would be easily explained if there were two exoduses, and if the first one took place with the full consent of the Egyptians.[27]

We must also take into consideration the favoured treatment Egyptians are accorded in the later laws of Israel, Deut. 23 : 8, particularly in a code which appeared at a time when it was of vital importance to reconcile any friction, in whatever quarter it may have been, between Josephite and Judaean. The law explains this favoured treatment on the grounds that the Israelites were themselves once strangers in Egypt. The simplest and most logical inference is that at least one body of Israelites knew of only favoured treatment during their sojourn in Egypt, and these must surely be the Josephites, as the Joseph story itself indicates. Now if the Josephites had come out of Egypt under Moses this would be quite incomprehensible, but it is easily understandable on the assumption of another exodus in very different circumstances. And that the Josephites did come to Palestine from Egypt is proved beyond reasonable doubt by the fact that alone of all the tribes in Israel, Manasseh and Ephraim are said to have been born in Egypt.

On this solution we very probably have a pale reflection of the first, the Josephite exodus, in the story preserved in Gen. 50 : 1—9. There we are expressly told that all the men among the Josephites proceeded from Egypt to Palestine long before the time of Moses, though of course they all had to be brought back again in v. 14, to account for the later tradition that the whole of Israel took part in the Exodus under Moses.

Again in Gen 48 : 22 we have what amounts almost to an explicit statement that the Josephites established themselves in or around Shechem before the other tribes. This is probably to be understood as meaning that the event occurred before the amphictyony was established; at the very least it dates the Josephite conquest before the arrival of the Israelites who left Egypt under Moses.

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[25] Sihon and the Amorites in Num 21, Balak and the Moabites in Num 22 and 23.

[26] One in the Book of Joshua, the other in Judges 1.

[27] Cf. Exod. 12 : 35–36. Professor Hooke has pointed out that this alternative tradition of favourable treatment is reflected also in the Abraham cycle; see n. 18 above. That this should have been the case is understandable, for once the Josephite and Levitic exoduses became fused in the tradition, the memory of an earlier exodus towards which the attitude of the Egyptians was favourable, had to be accounted for by relegating it to the patriarchal age.

That it was the Josephites who established the amphictyony of Israel is not certain of course, but it is probable. First we have the unique importance of Joseph in the earlier history of Israel which down to the time of Saul is chiefly concerned with the territory of Joseph. Even the judges and heroes of this period are in the majority either Josephites by birth, or are otherwise closely associated with that tribe.[28] And such stories as Josh 22; Judg 8 : 1–3; 12 : 1–6 show clearly how great the role of Joseph was in inter-tribal matters.

Secondly, many scattered data point in the same direction. Thus we have: (i) the identification of the eponym ancestor of the amphictyony, Israel, with the patriarch, Jacob, who is almost exclusively connected with Josephite territory; (ii) the name of Israel is to " live on " in the tribe of Joseph (Gen 48 : 16, 20); (iii) Joseph is the ruler of Israel (Gen 49 : 26); (iv) already in the time of David " Joseph " is synonymous with " Israel " (II Sam 19 : 21).

Although the assumption is not indispensable, it has to be regarded as distinctly possible that the Josephites would have been assisted in their venture by an Egyptian contingent. In this connection two points are worth noting. Firstly, a force of Egyptian chariotry would have been particularly valuable; secondly, if an Egyptian contingent had taken part, the pharaoh would in all probability claim as his own the Josephite victories. It may be then of some significance that Egyptian chariots are specifically mentioned in Gen 50 : 9, and that Ramesses II is the only pharaoh who claims victories in Moab as well as the capture, apparently, of Jericho.[29]

We have by now reviewed eight data, all of which suggest that the account of the Exodus in the O.T. is a compound of two similar episodes. All of these data are problems which have attracted the attention of scholars on and off for generations past. The advantage of the two-exoduses theory is that it explains them all on a single theory, and the more difficulties a new theory is capable of explaining, the better its chance of being correct. In fact, though it is seldom explicitly stated, that is the usual test and criterion of any new theory in O.T. study. Accordingly, we will now proceed to double from 8 to 16 the number of these supporting data, more than that space will not allow. All are problems well known to O.T. scholars. For each of them, taken separately, many solutions have been suggested in the past, just as there have been for the 8 problems we have already reviewed. But the strength of the present theory is that it explains them all on the single basic assumption that there were two exoduses.

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[28] Joshua, Gideon, Abimelech, Jaïr, Abdon and Samuel were Josephites. Ehud and Saul belonged to the kinsmen of Joseph, the tribe of Benjamin. Tola, though from a family of Issachar, lived in Josephite territory. (That a man could be both Josephite and Levite, as in the case of Samuel, will be explained below.)

[29] For Jericho see Fairman, *J.E.A.*, XXV, 141 f.; for Moab see J. Simons, *Egyptian Topographical Lists* (1937), 156. The inference that the Egyptians may have not only favoured, but even actively supported the Josephite exodus and conquest, is of course very tentative. Their motive for doing so would not be difficult to explain: (i) to use them as diversionary light forces on the right flank of an advance into Palestine, as the Arabs were used by Allenby; (ii) through them to organise the unruly hill tribes of Central Palestine into some sort of a confederation, easier for the Egyptian authorities to control, and at the same time very useful as a counterweight to the Canaanite rulers.

(*Nine.*) The period of the Judges starts early in the 13th century with the founding of the Israelite amphictyony. Why then is there no mention of Egypt in the Book of Judges during the century and a half the Egyptians were still in control of Palestine, and specifically, why is there no mention of the great defeat inflicted upon Israel by Merneptah ?

Because nearly all that we have in Judges concerns exclusively the history of Israel during and after the second Exodus. To explain the omission of the earlier period we have to bear in mind the purpose of the Deuteronomist who compiled and edited the Book of Judges. He was not writing a history of Israel in the spirit a modern historian would. He was using the history of Israel to show how time and again Yahwe chastised Israel, and then took pity and provided a saviour.[30]. The defeat of Israel by Merneptah, since it happened in the days before Moses, before the introduction of Yahwism, obviously could not be attributed to Yahwe. Similarly, those heroes in the history of Israel who lived before the time of Moses could not have been sent by Yahwe, and therefore could have no place in the Deuteronomist's history.

(*Ten.*) Why are there two sets of judges, the great charismatic heroes, the saviours of Israel, and the so-called " minor judges " ?

Simply because the minor judges are the judges of Israel before the time of Moses. This would plausibly explain the essential difference between the great judges and the minor judges. The former are all sent by Yahwe, whereas this is not said of any of the minor judges.

(*Eleven.*) Why did Moses and his Levites remain for a whole generation in the wilderness ?

The Israelites who were in Egypt in the days of Moses had of course taken part, though not necessarily a leading part, in the incidents of the period of anarchy, when, not long before the Exodus, the country was oppressed and plundered by Semitic elements. By the time the Israelites had fled Egypt, the Egyptians had re-established their control over Palestine, and none of those who had taken part in the incidents of the anarchy would have been permitted to enter the land. So long as Moses and his followers remained in the wilderness, or on the desert fringe of Palestine in a place such as Kadesh Barnea, they could rapidly withdraw into the desert to the protection of their Midianite allies, and would remain safe from Egyptian revenge. But had they entered Palestine whilst the Egyptians were still in control there, they would have jeopardised not only their own safety, but that of the whole nation. The joint testimony of the Harris Papyrus and of

[30] See M. Noth, *Uberlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien* I (1943), 100 f.

Manetho[31] leaves no doubt that Egyptian resentment of the outrages during the anarchy was as bitter as it was lasting, and also that several centuries later there was still a tradition according to which Israelites were involved in these events. Moses and his Levites could not therefore enter the land until such time as the Egyptian control of Palestine had come to an end. And this we know did not happen until a generation or so after the anarchy, just before the death of Moses.

(*Twelve.*) What explains the close connection between Simeon and Levi? As pointed out by Rowley, any solution proposed has to be capable of explaining this.[32]

It is easily explained on the present solution, because the latter implies that the tribes of Israel were already established in the land at the time of Moses. Consequently, during the period of about one generation which the Levites spent in or around Kadesh Barnea, the Israelite tribe closest to them was precisely Simeon, in the area of Beer-Sheba. It follows that Simeon and Levi were neighbours during the crucial, formative stage of the Levitic traditions. Moreover the Simeonites would have been in direct contact with Moses and the new religion he was preaching at Kadesh Barnea. It is more than probable that many of them would have rallied to him, and would thus have become incorporated into the group which was later to be known as the " tribe " of Levi.[33]

(*Thirteen.*) When the Levites under Joshua did eventually enter the land why were they not assigned tribal territory of their own?

Because the other tribes of Israel were already firmly established in their tribal territories. No large areas were vacant, nor could any be made available without dispossessing other tribes, and risking civil war. The Levites were therefore dispersed among the other tribes of Israel, special cities being assigned to them. This arrangement had of course the further advantage that the Levites, who were Joshua's closest followers, could be relied upon to see that his writ was effectively carried out, in matters political as well as religious.

(*Fourteen.*) When Joshua arrived at Shechem, why did he have to reaffirm the Covenant? And why, in addressing the elders who had assembled there, does he not so much as mention the fact that they or their fathers had already sworn a covenant at Sinai?[34]

Because those whom he was addressing at Shechem were the elders of the Israelite tribes already established in the land at the time of Moses, and they were not present at Sinai. Joshua leaves them free choice to abide by their old gods, or to discard them and choose Yahwe. Once they had opted for the latter course a second covenant became necessary.[35]

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[31] For the Harris Papyrus see J. B. Pritchard, *op. cit.*, 260; for Manetho see Josephus, *Contra Apionem* I : 248–250.

[32] *RJJ*, 8–9, and *J.N.E.S.*, III, 73 f. The fact that Simeon and Levi are the only tribes of Israel with no separate tribal territory of their own, as also the fact that there were Simeonites in Josephite territory early in the divided Monarchy (see n. 33 below), makes it difficult to accept the conclusion Rowley draws from the curse on Simeon and Levi in the Blessing of Jacob.

[33] Others seem to have scattered in Israel with the Levites, without actually being counted as Levites. This at least would explain the presence of Simeonites in Central Palestine; cf. II Chron. 15 : 9.

[34] Josh. 24; cf. *RJJ*, 128.

(*Fifteen.*) In recent years the most important achievement in the literary analysis of the O.T. is that of Professor Noth. One of his conclusions is the surprising one that the story of the Conquest in the two older J and E sources is missing in the present text[36], where it has been replaced by a later version. Why should this all important chapter in the epic have been removed?

Simply because the older accounts showed clearly that the tribes of Israel were already established in Palestine at the time of Moses. But this was incompatible with the later theory that the whole of Israel marched down into Egypt with Jacob and marched out again with Moses; consequently a revised version had to be substituted for the older ones.

(*Sixteen.*) A puzzling feature of the O.T. account is that from the day the Israelites leave Egypt, led by Moses, there seems little reason to doubt the historicity of the account, at least in its essential detail. But why then is all that happened inside Egypt itself in the years immediately preceding the Exodus either shrouded in silence, or else veiled in the obscurity of the plague stories?

When discussing datum eleven above we had occasion to note the furious resentment of the Egyptians against those who had perpetrated the outrages of the period of anarchy; and on the solution suggested here Moses and his Levites had taken part in these events. Now it would hardly have been safe for a small state to set itself up on the very doorstep of Egypt cherishing as a cardinal feature of its official religious tradition those very incidents which the Egyptians so bitterly resented. And what does an oriental do if he is unable or unwilling to give the facts, and yet does not wish to ignore them altogether? The answer is, whether it be in literature or art, that he represents the truth symbolically. On this solution it has to be regarded as a logical possibility that the plague stories are a symbolic representation of the disasters which befell Egypt during the period of anarchy. In these events the Levites had taken part, and later at least, they naturally ascribed them to Yahwe. This could not be explicitly stated; the religious tradition preserved it therefore in symbolic guise.

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[35] Thus the theory of two exoduses in no way invalidates the theological concept of the Chosen People. The Levites at Sinai consisted of men from all the tribes of Israel, organised even in their own tribal groups; and they were therefore fully representative of the whole nation. See further p. 59 below.

Nor is the kindred concept of the Promised Land affected. For we should take care not to think of the Promised Land in terms of modern, or even Davidic frontiers. After the first exodus the Josephites remained confined to the inhospitable hill country, amidst which lay the fertile lands of the Canaanite cities. These Canaanite fields and orchards are the land of milk and honey which the Israelites so ardently and understandably desired to possess. And the account of the conquest preserved in Judges makes it abundantly clear that that is precisely what they were not able to do. The unity and inspiration of a new faith had to come before they were able to defy and defeat the redoubtable Canaanite chariotry.

[36] *Op. cit.*, 208 f.

Such then is the main evidence for believing that there may well have been two exoduses from Egypt. The case for this solution rests on the archaeological evidence, limited as yet, and on the fact that it is capable of explaining on a single basic assumption no fewer than 16 separate problems.

We have yet to fix the date of the second exodus and conquest. This can only be done when a case has been made out for assuming two exoduses. First we have to agree that there is sufficient evidence for believing that Joshua should be located, not at the very beginning of the period of Judges, but well down within it. Once this be granted, we can then proceed to make use of the only datum in Judges that does provide a clue to the exact location of the second conquest.

This is the fact that both Barak and Joshua are stated to have fought the same opponent, Jabin king of Hazor.[37] So long as there be only one exodus, it could always be assumed that the reference is to two different kings of Hazor of the same name. But once we conclude that in any case Joshua has to be dated at some point within the period of Judges, the significance of this datum can hardly be mistaken. What it means is that the campaigns of Barak and of Joshua are simply two different episodes in the same struggle, a struggle that would have become inevitable once the Egyptian garrisons were withdrawn from Palestine, leaving Canaanite, Philistine and Israelite to fight it out among themselves.

The approximate date thus obtained for Joshua's campaigns is ca. 1125, that being the approximate date of the battle against Sisera.[38] This in turn yields 1125 + 40 = 1165 as the approximate date of the exodus under Moses. The event is thus located early in the reign of Ramesses III, in complete agreement with the archaeological evidence at Debir (assuming that Mersim has been correctly identified), and in agreement also with the very rough data provided by the genealogy of David. And it should be noted that all three data are completely independent of one another.

Nor does this date unduly compress the chronology of the Book of Judges. The "minor judges" lived before the time of Joshua and Barak, and the only great judges after them and before the disaster at Aphek in the middle of the 11th century are Ehud, Jephthah and Eli.[39]

The minor judges, for whom accurate figures are preserved, average some 14 years, and there is no reason to adopt a higher average for the other judges. Consequently all that has to be inferred is that the periods of oppression were in reality, either short periods of acute crisis, or else that they refer to a single confused period of disintegration after the death of Joshua. In the latter case the disaster at Aphek could be regarded as the logical outcome of a prolonged period of internal disorders and foreign invasion during which the successes achieved by a series of charismatic heroes were of short effect, but at least saved the nation from complete extinction.

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[37] Josh. 11 : 1 and Judg. 4 : 2; see also Ps. 83 : 10.

[38] See n. 5 above.

[39] On the solution suggested here, the minor judges belong to the period before Moses. Gideon did not become judge; cf. Judg. 8 : 23. Samson belongs to the period of Philistine domination after the disaster of Aphek, when Samuel was still far too young to have been judge of Israel. Caleb, and very probably Othniel, ruled separately in Judah. In the case of Caleb this is virtually certain; cf. his meeting with Joshua in Josh. 14 : 6 f.

As for the specific year within the early part of the reign of Ramesses III which can be regarded as the most probable for the exodus under Moses, our best choice would be the eighth year of that king. This was the year in which Egypt very nearly succumbed to the invasions of the Sea Peoples, and the Egyptian authorities would certainly have had little time to bother about the escape of even a fairly large group of slave labour.[40] The O.T. itself provides some support for this date. Firstly, we are told that Moses did not take the shortest route to Palestine through Philistine territory, because of the fighting that was going on there[41]; and we know that the Philistines were prominent among the peoples who invaded Egypt in that year. Secondly, when the Levites did at last reach the highlands opposite Jericho, some 40 years later, the Balaam poem shows that the Philistines were believed at that time to have only recently arrived from overseas.[42]

There remains only the question who were the Israelites in Egypt in the days of Moses, and why did they come to be known as " Levites " ?

The answer to the first of these problems is easy. The bulk of these " Levites " were descendants of captives, men from all the tribes of Israel who were taken prisoner when Merneptah vanquished Israel about half a century earlier. The remainder were Josephites, who either had not left Egypt on the occasion of the first Exodus some 4 generations earlier, or whom the hardship of life in Palestine had induced or compelled to return to Egypt.

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[40] In such a crisis it would not have been possible to spare a unit sent in pursuit of the fugitives for more than a very brief mission. If delayed by an unsuccessful and costly water crossing, in all probability it would have had to turn back and regain the main theatre of operations. The Egyptian unit would have disengaged under cover of darkness, leaving the shore across from Israel unbelievably bare of hostile elements. So that when the sun rose on a day that all must have looked to as one of mortal peril, the enemy had vanished, " swallowed up by the waters " as chanted the exultant bards.

[41] So interpreting Exod. 13 : 17, lit. " lest they take fright at the sight of the fighting (in progress there) ".

[42] For Albright's reconstruction of the Balaam poem see *J.B.L.*, LXIII, 207 f. Note too that the Philistines are also mentioned as present at the time the Levites reached Palestine, in v. 14 of the ancient poem in Exod. 15. For as the Canaanites are mentioned separately in v. 15, the " inhabitants of Philistia " are surely the Philistines themselves. The reference to the Philistines in the prose text Exod. 13 : 17 can be got around by assuming the passage to be of late date, the term " land of the Philistines " projected back into a time when the Philistines had not yet arrived. This is certainly so in Genesis; cf. *RJJ*, 22 f. But the case is very different when, unlike Genesis, the prose datum is supported by two similar data in very ancient poems. At the time when these were composed, it is at least very likely that it would still be well remembered whether or not the Philistines were present in the land when the Levites reached it.

The origin of the name " Levite " is less certain. On the solution to the Exodus problem that has been suggested here, the following explanation seems the most probable, though it is by no means the only one possible. The Israelites who came out of Egypt in the second exodus were not as yet known as " Levites " whilst they were still in Egypt. They came out as a body of Israelites representative of the whole people, and in this sense it would conform to Hebrew usage for later generations to speak of " Israel " leaving Egypt under Moses. This indeed is a factor worth bearing in mind, since in time it would almost inevitably give rise to the tradition that all Israel participated in the event.

When ultimately it proved impossible to find separate tribal territory for this large group of newcomers, and they had to be distributed among the other tribes, these men came to be known as " those who joined, who became attached " to the tribes in question, and hence on a larger view to the nation as a whole. The verb *lawah* is still used by Isaiah in approximately this sense. Moreover this derivation has the advantage that it abides by the etymology given in the O.T., although there, belonging as it did to the body of tradition on tribal origins, it had to be projected back into the sphere of patriarchal family history.[43]

Thus for the majority of those Israelites who took part in the second exodus, the captives of Merneptah and their descendants, life in Egypt would have been hard, and their sojourn in that country could have left but unhappy memories. Temporary respite came when anarchy broke out in the period between Dynasties XIX and XX; and Semitic elements gained control of the country. In the circumstances we can be reasonably certain that these captives would have turned with hatred against their oppressors, and would have joined with others in plundering the Egyptians and desecrating their temples.[44]

After a time Setnakht and his son Ramesses III were able to re-establish order in Egypt, and those among the rebellious slaves who had not made good their escape, would have met with harsh retribution. The ringleaders would doubtless have been executed, the remainder put to the hardest slave labour, as, for instance, construction work in Per Reʿemasese, where we know that Ramesses III built extensively; the need for such work being only too understandable after the events of the anarchy. Indeed it is not impossible that a decree was in fact issued to exterminate the offspring of any who could be convicted of an active part in such unheard of sacrilege.[45]

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[43] See Gen. 29 : 34 and Is. 14 : 1, in both of which the verb is used in the reflexive Nifal. I follow Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel* (1946). 204 n. 42, in deriving the name from an original **lawiyu.* An original passive force " one who was attached " or " who became attached " is also possible, but as in the case of *maliku* quoted by Albright, active force is at least equally possible. I hope to discuss elsewhere the *qatilu* form and the etymology of this name.

[44] If this view be correct, the modern tendency to deny that Moses was a true monotheist, seems hardly necessary. A genuinely sceptical attitude on the part of Moses and his followers towards the established forms of religion is precisely what one might expect, if they had taken part in the violence done to the greatest gods of antiquity, the gods of Egypt. That the Israelites already in Palestine who had not shared in the events of Egypt or Sinai, would have taken long to convince is equally understandable; and the many traces that can be detected in the O.T. of polytheistic beliefs can be plausibly regarded as evidence of the long and bitter struggle it took to bring those others to see the teaching of Moses in the way the Levites understood it.

One of those who escaped the wrath of Egypt was an Israelite who bore the Egyptian name of Moses, and who perhaps may have held a position of some importance during the period of anarchy. He took refuge with the Midianites in the desert, and some years later, profiting by the invasion of the Sea Peoples, he returned to Egypt and extricated the Levites. But though they were to escape the pharaoh, the latter's victory over the Sea Peoples robbed the Levites of their hope to enter Palestine. This they were not able to do until the Egyptian control of Palestine collapsed, and by that time Moses was a very old man and he died on the final march. The leadership was then taken over by Joshua, one of the many " Levites " of Josephite origin, and he it was who brought to fruition the venture, seemingly impossible in its audacity, which Moses had undertaken many years before.

Viewed against the background of its historical context, this solution has then the advantage that whilst leaving intact most of the details in the O.T. account, it permits the story to be fitted into the historical pattern with the utmost ease; and this can be counted a solid advantage so long as the evidence remains such that we can speak in terms of probability only. But is it indeed the right solution? It conforms well to the evidence at present available, and seems capable of solving a fair number of problems. Nevertheless, the last word must remain with archaeology, and there is reasonable hope that one day archaeology will be able to provide the answer. For should systematic excavation of the numerous sites connected with the exoduses and conquest reveal that at these sites Canaanite occupation came to an end in two distinct phases more than a century apart, then at least in broad outline this solution is likely to be correct.

[45] Exod. 1 : 15 f.

THE WAR OF GIDEON AND MIDIAN
A MILITARY APPROACH*

By A. MALAMAT

THE Bible contains important and interesting material on military phenomena of various kinds, including descriptions of campaigns and wars. Every attempt to fathom such material so as to reveal the exact military situation in any given instance meets with serious obstacles. The lack of sufficient details in the Biblical sources on the one hand, and the complicated literary criticism of these sources on the other, render the analysis more difficult. Nevertheless, despite these difficulties, the steady progress of Biblical archaeology and topography, and especially the ever growing knowledge of warfare in ancient times, enable us to reach some important conclusions in an examination of several battles. Such is the case, when the difficult task of scrutinizing the war of Gideon against the Midianites is undertaken.

In consequence of the victory of Deborah and Barak over the Canaanite chariot forces, communication between the tribes of Israel of the centre, and the north was ensured and the broad Vale of Jezreel was opened to Israelite settlement. On the other hand, the weakening of the Canaanite strength by the Israelites meant that the security of the whole north was endangered; the Israelites had not yet attained the high material level nor the advanced political organization which would have enabled them to take the place of the Canaanites in defending the northern part of the country. This breach in the Canaanite defence system provided opportunities for foreign invasions. Nor was it long before nomadic tribes, pressing down from the Arabian desert, made headway into Palestine.[1]

The Israelites then found themselves facing the Midianites, accompanied by the Amalekites and the " sons of the East," an entirely different type of enemy from the civilized Canaanites. These hordes wandered about the edges of the Arabian desert with their families, tents, camels and cattle, seeking loot, food and pasture (VI, 5). In warfare they had no permanent base from which they went forth on their military sorties, nor can we suppose that they arrayed themselves in military formation or had definite plans of attack with clear objectives. Their camp sites were protected at night by armed guards (VII, 19), while their mobility in open fighting depended on the camel.[2]

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* All Biblical references are to the Book of Judges, unless otherwise designated.

[1] We have here the familiar phenomenon of the overrunning of the fertile Western plains of Palestine by desert nomads. There are several known cases of the penetration of Beduin tribes into the Jezreel Valley during the Middle Ages and even in recent times.

These invaders from the desert were able to harass the Israelites, not because of any superiority in weapons and equipment, but because of their vast number.[3] Nor were the Israelites accustomed to camel warfare, which requires special tactics. The Midianites " . . . . came as grasshoppers for multitude; for both they and their camels were without number " (VI, 5; cf. also VII, 12). The sight of so vast an army of Midianites camping on the plain must have been awe-inspiring to the Israelite army, striking fear into the hearts of the most hardened veterans. And indeed, over two-thirds of the volunteers responded to Gideon's invitation to the " fearful and afraid " to be released from participation in the operation.

Clearly, then, the central problem in the war was how to nullify the numerical superiority of the enemy as well as the advantage he derived from the Israelites' lack of familiarity with camel tactics. Gideon found the tactical solution to the problem in the staging of a night attack.

Gideon's operation is a fine example of a night attack and a classical military lesson in the way in which a small weak force can overcome a large strong one. Modern military science fully justifies the plan and its postulates as they are revealed in the Biblical account:[4]

1. AN EXACT AND ACCURATE PLAN OF OPERATIONS.

2. THE USE OF A LIMITED NUMBER OF SOLDIERS. Gideon chose only 300 of the 10,000 who had remained after the " fearful and afraid " had departed. The concept of " the miracle of the three hundred " as expounded in history textbooks, following the Biblical tradition, is unfounded and unnecessary, for, since a night attack required only a small force for success, three hundred men would have been a most proper number from the practical standpoint.[5]

3. CHOICE OF SOLDIERS FROM A QUALITATIVE POINT OF VIEW TO COMPENSATE FOR THE QUANTITATIVE DISADVANTAGE. Gideon's soldiers were picked by the way they drank water: " Every one that lappeth of the water with his tongue as a dog lappeth . . . . and the number of them that lapped, *putting their hands to their mouths*, were three hundred men." (VII, 5–6.)

There have been many explanations offered for this strange method of selecting the soldiers. Most of them are irrelevant, because they have not recognized that military considerations influenced the choice of fighters. On the other hand, the following quotation from an article by Field-Marshal Lord Wavell throws a good deal of light on the matter: " The majority of his men, parched by the heat on the bare rocky hills, flung themselves down full length by the stream when their opportunity came and drank heedlessly and carelessly. Only the seasoned warrior with experience of snipers and ambushes, kept his weapon in one hand and his eyes toward his foes, while he dipped the other hand in the water and lapped from it, ready for action at the slightest sign of danger."[6]

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[2] For the appearance and domestication of the camel in this period cf. W. F. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity*², 1946, pp. 120 ff. and *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*², 1946, pp. 96 ff.

[3] No doubt the figure 120,000 as the number of their losses, with 15,000 remaining (VIII: 10) is greatly exaggerated, but it gives us some idea of the vastness of the enemy horde.

[4] Thus there is little wonder that the Biblical description of the battle of Gideon has captivated the imaginations of great military men in our own day, like Field-Marshal Lord Wavell and Brigadier-General Charles Orde Wingate. The former has written a special monograph on this battle, viz., his book, *The Good Soldier*, 1948.

[5] Similar examples from other battles in history are given in S. Tolkovsky's article: " Gideon's 300 " in the *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, 1925, p. 69 ff.

4. CONCENTRATION OF COMMAND IN STRONG HANDS, demanded more by a nocturnal operation than by a day action. Gideon certainly filled this prerequisite adequately, from his drawing up of the plan to his attention to the minutest detail in carrying it out. He divided his battalion into " three heads ", i.e., companies of one hundred men each; he took command of them himself, the other two being ordered to synchronize their actions with his central company (VII, 16–18) ; and he instructed his men to " Look on me and do likewise " (VII, 17). Thus, by his direct command he imparted to his men the discipline and self-confidence that are the *sine qua non* of success in a night attack. The small force was closely knit and capable of performing the daring task required of it.

5. THE SUITING OF THE PLAN OF OPERATIONS TO PHYSICAL CONDITIONS. Gideon's military sense enabled him to exploit the darkness to the maximum. The tactical objective was based on a psychological factor, creating confusion and panic in the enemy's camp as a prelude to physical defeat. It was achieved by the use of surprise and by a stratagem which created the impression of a vast force at Gideon's command. He had also already prepared the ground by propaganda amongst the enemy which aroused fear in their ranks (VII, 14). Thus the stratagem planned for the battle was a logical continuation of the war of nerves against the enemy.

6. SIMPLICITY OF METHOD IN CARRYING OUT THE PLAN. The soldiers surrounded the Midianite camp " on every side of all the camp " (VII, 18), equipped with trumpets and torches hidden in empty pitchers, so that their light would not give them away before the attack (VII, 16). These devices, the trumpets and the torches, not only made an effective psychological impression on the enemy ranks, but also served to give the signal for the start of the attack.

7. KNOWLEDGE OF THE AREA AND FAMILIARITY WITH THE TERRAIN. The Israelites, fighting invaders in their own territory, had a distinct advantage in this regard.

8. A PERSONAL RECONNAISSANCE. Because the darkness makes uninterrupted observation impossible, it was necessary to reconnoitre immediately before

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[6] Cf. Wavell, p. 164 (note 21). Herodotus (Book II, 80) also notes that a true soldier doesn't bend his knees.

the attack in order to ascertain any last minute changes in the enemy's position or preparations. Gideon himself went out on patrol to the outskirts of the enemy's camp, taking with him Phurah, who was apparently his adjutant (VII, 9–14). The results of the reconnaissance justified the risk that Gideon took, since the dream and its interpretation which were overheard, bore witness to the dangerous defeatism spreading amongst the enemy, and revealed to him the suitability of the moment for the carrying out of his bold manoeuvre (VII, 13 ff).

9. Timing of the military schedule. The various phases of the operation were worked out so that the hours of darkness were utilized to the maximum. Such a time table is in accordance with the rules of tactics, which hold good even today.[7] Gideon appropriately used the first hours of the night for the arranging of his troops, which he completed in the " beginning of the middle watch ", that is, close to midnight. The attack itself was apparently to take place immediately after the change of the guards, which is the weakest moment in the sentry system; " And they had but newly set the watch " (VII, 19). Thus, there were sufficient hours of darkness left for the actual attack. By dawn the enemy was routed.

The attack was carried through completely according to plan, with the expected results. The enemy, who had no training whatsoever in night fighting, and like all sons of the desert were subconsciously afraid of the dark, quickly fell into complete demoralization. They suddenly saw themselves surrounded, and because of the darkness could not see through the " trumpet and torch " manoeuvre to determine the real Israelite strength (VII, 19 ff.). In the terrible pandemonium which was created, it was impossible to discern friend from foe. " And the Lord set every man's sword against his fellow, even through all the host " (VII, 22).

Gideon's planning reveals a boldness of approach which sacrificed the principle of security, as illustrated by his further weakening of his puny force by dividing it into sub-units of 100 men apiece. (Cf. 4.) The accomplishment of the task was made possible only by a perfect co-ordination of the several units. Undoubtedly, there had been much drilling in moving in the dark and in manipulating the trumpets and the torches in the jars (Cf. 6).

Gideon was not satisfied with his decisive victory on the battlefield, but decided to take full advantage of his superiority to pursue the remnants of the enemy fleeing in the direction of the Transjordanian plateau. In this pursuit, Gideon is revealed not only as a tactician, but also as a strategist, in his cutting off the enemy retreat at the fords of the Jordan (VII, 24).

The foregoing account of Gideon's battle shows that there is ample and detailed information available for a military analysis. The same is true of the topographical features of Gideon's campaign, which can be reconstructed with great precision.[8]

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[7] Compare, for instance, A. Boltze, *Das Nachtgefecht*, 1936.

The Israelite army was arrayed, it seems, on one of the hill-tops at the north-eastern tip of the Gilboa range, near the Well of Harod, the present Ain Jalud.[9] The enemy's camp lay below the Hill of Moreh in the northern extension of the Vale of Jezreel (in the so-called Chesulloth Valley) (VI, 33; VII, 1). Gideon surprised them from the Hill: "And the host of Midian was beneath him in the valley . . . . the Lord said unto him: Arise get thee down unto the host" (VII, 8–9). Whoever stands at the top of the steep northernmost summit of the Hill of Moreh, looking down at a camp on the plain below, imagines that he sees it under his very feet, and will appreciate the significance of the above quotation.[10] There are further topographical references to the flight of the enemy, but this lies outside the scope of our discussion.

In summing up the campaign of Gideon, we can recapitulate the main military and technical factors that gave victory to the Israelites: intimate knowledge of the battleground and of natural conditions; correct appraisal of the military character of the enemy, and finally, the proper exploitation of these two factors in the plan of operation based on original and dynamic tactics.

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[8] Compare such a recent commentary on the Book of Judges as Garstang, *Joshua, Judges*, 1931.

[9] For the identification of the city of (Ein) Harod with *Tell-el-Karm*, about 1½ kilometres south-east of the well, cf. N. Zimbalist, *Bull. Jew. Pal. Explor. Soc.*, 1947–48, p. 42.

[10] A detail which points to this northern position of the battle is that the Midianite leaders killed Gideon's brothers in Tabor (VIII, 18) (it is uncertain whether this is a reference to the mountain or to a city of that name in the district of Issachar). The words in Ps. LXXXIII, 10: ". . . . which perished at En-Dor" may also be a reference to the position of the battle, if this reference can be tied to the Midianite debacle hinted at in the preceding verse and the following one. Cf. B. Maisler, *Bull. Jew. Pal. Explor. Soc.* 1936, pp. 47 ff., and E. Kutscher, *ibidem*, 1935, pp. 40 ff. For the chronological setting of this Psalm, cf. also S. Feigin, *Missitrei Heavar*, 1943, pp. 31–33. According to the topographical conditions and ceramic evidence, we may now propose for the Biblical site of En-Dor the identification with *Hirbeth es Safsafa* one kilometre north-east of the modern village of En-Dor. For this identification, cf. now also N. Zori, P.E.Q., 1952, pp. 114 ff.

" CHURCH " IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

By E. F. Bishop

In the April 1951 issue of the *Expository Times* there is an article by the late Principal W. F. Howard entitled " The Church in the New Testament ", in which he refers to the theory of K. L. Schmidt, " that the Aramaic term used by our Lord in Mt 16.18 and 18.17 was *kᵉnīshtā*, since the equivalent *kᵉnūshtā* is used in the Sinaitic Syriac version both for the Christian Church and the Jewish synagogue ". This would seem to have been true of Arabic from an early date, as the dictionaries imply—*kanīsat* (with its plural *kanā'is*) being used either for " church " or " synagogue ". It was probably from Syriac that the word came into Arabic usage. Some of the old Arabic versions of the New Testament employ another word—*bī'at*—in these two Matthean contexts, as in Acts 20.28. In the Epistles this word sometimes occurs, while *kanīsat* is also found—consistently so in the Apocalypse—as in addition one of the derivatives of *jama'a*, which could today be used in certain circumstances for " congregation ". It would appear that *bī'at*, still sung in the *Te Deum*, originally referred like *kanīsat* to " church " or " synagogue ". For *bī'at* is said to have been used by Muhammad when ordering the destruction of a Christian building. So that both *bī'at* and *kanīsat*, while retaining their primary meaning of " place of worship ", came to acquire wider significance from the enlarged meaning, which our Lord in any case gave to an idea, if not an actual word in current use. " There is no difficulty at all ", wrote W. C. Allen, " in supposing that Christ used some Aramaic phrase or word which would signify the community or society of His disciples." [1]

In reference to Judaism and the Jews, however, the Christians and later the Muslims, did not get beyond meaning simply the building given over to the worship of God; whereas, as Christianity developed, *kanīsat* for the Arabs became gradually the general, " all purposes " word. Probably few Protestants today are familiar with *bī'at* outside the *Te Deum* or an old version of one of the Creeds. They would never use it in everyday life. Consequently in some parts of the Arab Christian world the enrichment of *kanīsat* led to the consistent use in Colloquial (Palestine and elsewhere) of a masculine form for " synagogue "—*kinīs*, the feminine *kinisi* being vested with all the usages and implications of *kanīsat*.

In the more modern Classical versions of the New Testament another word—*majma'*—is regularly used for " synagogue ". It is somewhat colourless and connected too with *jama'a*, " gather ", " collect ". Eleven years ago when we were first translating St. Mark into Palestinian Colloquial, the Palestinian members of the committee insisted that *kinīs* should be used for “ synagogue ”. The plural is generally the same for both *kinīs* and *kinīsi*, namely, *kanāyis*, but the Palestinians refused to allow this for “ synagogues ” in Mk. 12.39 and 13.9. In the first edition they allowed *kanāyis* to stand in 1.39, but in the revision, the personnel having slightly changed, this had to be altered to *kunus*. In the other two passages we reverted to the plural of the colourless *majma’*. There does seem to have come about a Christian concern for the purity and validity of *kanīsat*, for no Christian or Muslim today would use it to denote “ synagogue ”, any more than its colloquial form of *kinīsi*. Its Christian Syriac origin would appear most probable, even though its use for “ synagogue ” may have come through the closely allied Aramaic; for the Jews resident in Arabia did introduce Aramaic words into the Arabic of the Peninsula.[2]

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[1] Allen, *St. Matthew, I.C.C.*, 176.

Freytag and Lane both propose the Chaldee *Kanīshah* as the derivation, while the latter has an alternative from the Old Persian—*Kanast*—used for a “ fire temple ”[3]. Might this possibly suggest a wide vogue for the influence of ἐκκλησία east as well as west before as well as after the Christian era ? The first syllable of ἐκκλησία seems to have been already clipped by the time *kᵉnīshta* and *kᵉnūshta* were corrupted into *kanīsat*, and the *lambda* had become a *nūn*. This was not always the case, however, for one of the ancient parts of Sana’a, the Capital of the Yemen, has preserved the name “ *Qalīs* ”—the spot where the Cathedral is reckoned to have stood in Pre-islamic times, erected by an Abyssinian viceroy.[4] The Persian writer, Abdul Haqq (*d.* 1642) in commenting on the *Mishkat al Masābīh*, translated the Arabic *bī’at* into Persian as *Kalīsat*, which approximates to the form in use today.[5]

A. H. McNeile, in reference to the first Matthean passage, says that in “ later Aramaic עדתא and כנישתא are related as ἐκκλησία and συναγωγή. Eusebius uses the former for Christian, the latter for Jewish assemblies ”.[6] This might be supported by the occurrence of ἐκκλησία in St. Stephen’s phrase, “ the Church in the wilderness ”.[7] McNeile also thinks that the original word in Mt 16.18 was כנישתא, which our Lord would naturally have employed as a native of Palestine.[6] At the same time He gave new and growing content to an Aramaic word, its corruption from ἐκκλησία having taken place previous to His time. His metaphor of building a new *kᵉnīshta* on a rock scarp was apt and pregnant for future Christian use, in spite of the fact that it was not the equivalent of its prototype, until Christian thought and experience enlarged and extended its meaning. Like συνέδριον it came into Aramaic from the Jewish diaspora, passing into Syriac and later establishing itself in Arab Christianity, which in spite of vicissitudes has retained both its original implication and its different extensions. It is natural that *kanīsat* should have assumed all that " church " has come to mean in the New Testament and Christian history, from the " place of worship " through the worshipping congregation to the " One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church ". The " Latin speaking people of the west ", wrote Deissmann, " to whom Christianity came did not translate the Greek word ἐκκλησία . . . . but simply borrowed it ".[8] The Aramaic speaking people of the East, thanks to the impact of the Jewish diaspora on the Greek speaking world, from which Christianity was to spring, had already made ἐκκλησία their own through *k*^{e}*nīshta*, and so " meet for the Master's use "; even for becoming used for the " Church of God which He purchased with His own blood ". In these days when so much thought is being given all through Christendom to the doctrine of the Church, it is surely alike the duty and privilege of Arabic speaking Christianity to interpret to the Islamic World the fullest meaning of this Greek word which the Semites of old made their own—and if to Islam, then to Judaism as well.

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[2] E.g., *Madīna* (plural *mudun*), *Encyclopedia of Islam*, iii, 83.

[3] Freytag’s Dictionary, 546: Lane, vii, 2634.

[4] Article on Sana’a: E.I.144. *Sirat Ibn Hisham*, 1, 43. (Egyptian Edition.) Hughes *Dictionary of Islam*, 42, 56–57, 261. The tradition about Muhammad is on 57. Cf. Trimingham: *Islam in Ethiopia*, 41, where it is spelled Qullais.

[5] Mishkat, iv, 8, 2, E.I., i, 39.

[6] The Gospel according to St. Matthew, 241.

[7] Acts, 7.38. But he may have used qāhāl.

[8] L.A.E., 112, 113. This passage is also referred to in Moulton and Milligan *ad loc.* See also H.D.C.G., i, 329, 330.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Le Paléolithique et le Mésolithique du Désert de Judée. By René Neuville. Archives de L'Institut de Paléontologie Humaine. 1951. Mémoire No. 24.

René Neuville's sad death means that this is the last work we shall have from his pen. It is fitting therefore that this mémoire summarises and to some extent completes his research in Palestine.

The present volume contains the final excavation reports of a number of sites, mostly near Bethlehem, which he excavated some years ago. Most of these sites were known from Neuville's brief report published in the *Revue Biblique* in 1934, and many of his ideas were included in this paper; and Umm Qatafa was published in two numbers of *L'Anthropologie*. We have now in this book the earlier paper much extended and well illustrated, and a great deal more of the data on which Neuville based his views.

It is impossible in the space of a review to examine Neuville's results in great detail, but we have sufficient material from Palestine and Syria to give us the broad outline of Palestine prehistory and it is against this background that Neuville's results must be examined. Our original conception of this period was largely due to the work of Professor Garrod, both at Mount Carmel and Shukbah. Her work though not providing a complete picture gave us a great deal of material, which has since been confirmed and amplified by sites excavated more recently. In addition to Mount Carmel we now have the results of Jabrud, Kasr 'Akil and Abu Halka. The Mount Carmel sequence was not complete and left serious gaps; one between the Levalloiso-Mousterian and the Aurignacian, and one between the Aurignacian and the Natufian. The gap between the Aurignacian and the Natufian was to some extent bridged by Turville-Petre's finds at Kebareh, where he had an industry between the Aurignacian and the Natufian, typologically later than the former but appearing to have no relation to the latter. This industry was later found at Jabrud and Kasr 'Akil. The excavations at Abu Halka and Miss Garrod's recent re-examination of some of the Mount Carmel material have done a great deal towards clearing up the problem of the Levalloiso-Mousterian and the Aurignacian.

An important gap which these materials did not close was between the Natufian and the lower levels of Jericho, in other words the transition between the caves and the base of the tells. At el Khiam, Neuville claims to have closed this, by a perfectly straightforward stratigraphical sequence. The four upper levels at this site, according to Neuville, contain two stages of an industry which he calls Tahunian. The later Tahunian or Tahunian II he considers as being the same industry as Jericho IX–XIII. If this is true then the Natufian–Jericho sequence is now bridged. Neuville had maintained the existence of this sequence for many years though many of his fellow prehistorians have not been happy about it. The main objection to this sequence is that the Tahunian II does not bear much resemblance to the material from the early levels of Jericho, and is in fact much more in keeping with the Chalcolithic of Jericho VIII. On the other hand there was no pottery found with this level at el Khiam, so that a direct comparison with Jericho VIII is impossible. The only solution seems to be that there are two separate lines of development, one leading to the Jericho material, the other to the Tahunian, which has no relation to it.

Another important feature of Neuville's book is his interpretation of Palestine prehistoric chronology. In Europe the cold-temperate changes are comparatively easy to follow, largely through marked changes in fauna; but in Palestine such changes are less marked, and we do not yet know how much reliance can be placed on the faunal and geological evidence in this area. Neuville pushes the early industries of Palestine a great deal farther back in time than most of his colleagues. How much support will be given to this chronology remains to be seen. At present this early dating does not seem to be justified by the facts, though they are open to various interpretations; Neuville himself, however, would have been the first to admit that all chronological schemes for the South Mediterranean are speculative. These differences of opinion show clearly how much more work must be done in this field; but, whatever our views of Neuville's interpretations may be, this book is of extreme importance and is indeed a major contribution to the prehistory of Palestine.

JOHN WAECHTER.

Gods, Graves, and Scholars: The Story of Archaeology. By C. W. CERAM. Translated from the German by E. B. Garside. Victor Gollancz Ltd., in association with Sidgwick and Jackson Ltd. London.

The large sales of this book are eloquent proof of its readability. They also confirm a wide general interest in archaeology, which is always apparent whenever the subject is presented in a way which stimulates the imagination of the reader. A book of this kind is of little importance to scholars in the diverse fields which it covers, however much they may enjoy it, but the present generation cannot assess its effect on scholarship in the future. The author has shown that it is often the chance possession of some book which supplies the initial stimulus in a young mind for the next step forward in archaeology.

Fired by Niebuhr's *Arabian Journey*, the repercussions of Napoleon's cultural interest in Egypt at the start of the ill-fated Egyptian campaign, when he was under thirty, are incalculable. For instance, a member of the scientific commission which went with the army gave the young Champollion his first sight of hieroglyphs, and at about the same time under the same stimulus, Mariette began his studies in Egyptology.

The young Schliemann's Christmas present for 1829 was an Illustrated History of the World. Who could then tell that it would lead to the excavation of Troy and Mycenae?

But books must share the credit with travel for the growth of the enquiring mind, forced on by insatiable curiosity. Evans had made full use of his opportunities as a rich man's son to travel, but it was some years before a visit to Crete decided his life's work. Sent by his father to confirm by measurement Piazzi Smyth's theories on the Pyramids, Petrie disproved them, and set the foundations of a new science.

In the Mesopotamian field, Botta, Rawlinson, Layard, de Sarzec combined their interest in antiquity with consular or diplomatic careers, which served them in good stead in many awkward situations which are amusingly described.

There is no doubt that Stephens' work in Central America was greatly facilitated by his position as Chargé d'Affaires for the United States, and the brief descriptions of the Empires of the Toltecs, Mayas, and Aztecs throw the civilisations of the Old World, with which we are much more familiar, into salutary relief.

Though the book itself may be reticent, the dust cover usually supplies a short biography of the author and a list of his works, both of which would have been welcome in this case. As he implies in his foreword, the author is no specialist, but for that reason, perhaps, he succeeds, where others have failed, in presenting the wood without the trees. His last section on " Books that cannot yet be written " is a challenge to youth.

OLGA TUFNELL.

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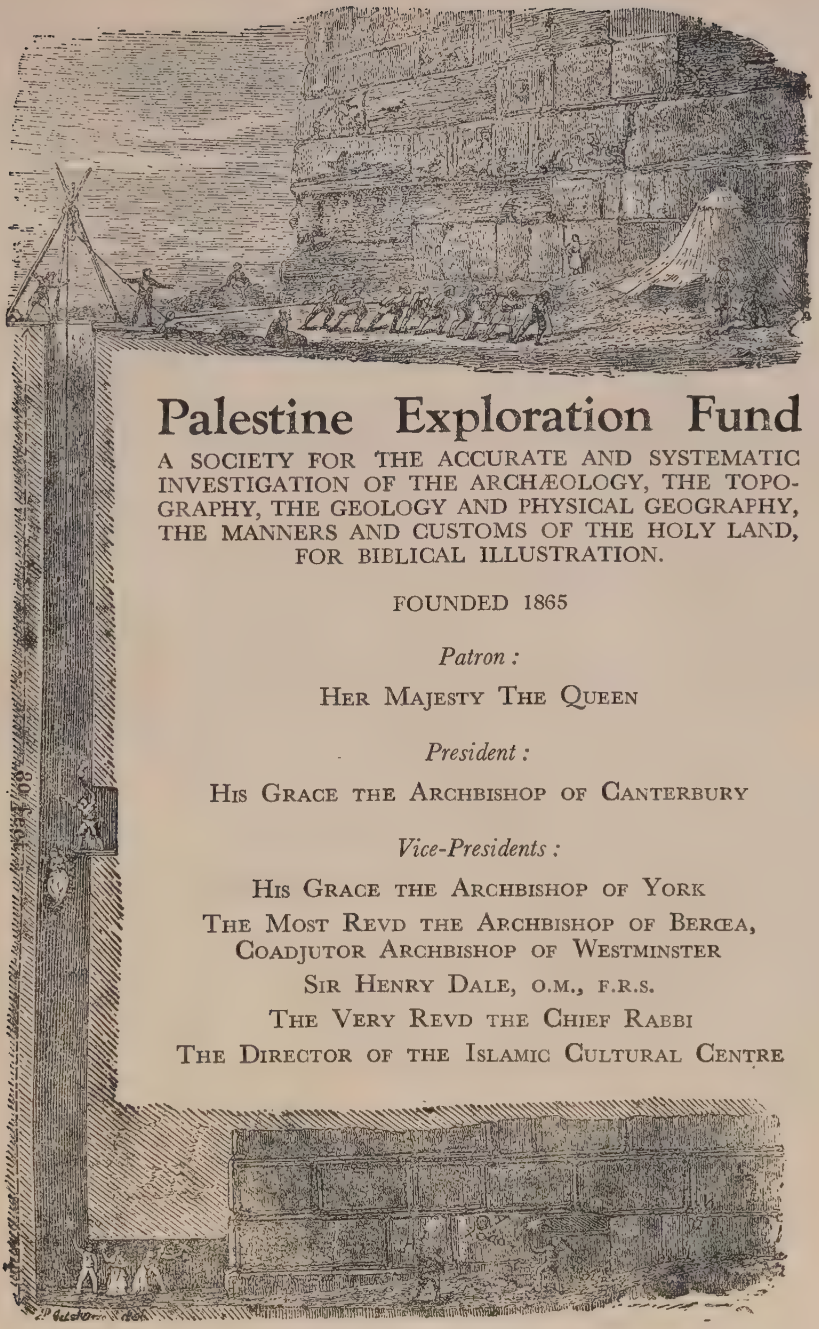

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THE
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

NOTES AND NEWS

After a long period of devoted service as assistant secretary to the Fund Mr. Ovenden retired in 1947, and was succeeded by Miss Rachel Wingate, sister of the famous " Chindit " Wingate, and herself a distinguished traveller and Oriental scholar. Now, after a brief period of five years, her sudden and premature death has deprived the Fund of the valuable services of a brilliant and charming personality. Her passing is sincerely mourned by all who knew her.

On 20th May, instead of the usual lecture, the Executive Committee of the Fund introduced the novel experiment of a Brains Trust. Under the able chairmanship of Professor D. Winton Thomas, before a large and interested audience, a panel of half-a-dozen members of the Fund, among whom were Professor Garstang, Dr. K. M. Kenyon and Miss Olga Tufnell, sharpened their wits upon a series of questions, not previously seen by them, which had been sent in by members of the audience. The general verdict seems to have been that the experiment was a success, and the hope was expressed that it might be repeated.

After the Fund's year had been ended with the usual Annual General Meeting, a special lecture was arranged on 30th July in order to give the members of the Fund and their friends the opportunity of hearing Mr. Lankester Harding describe the results of his recent exploration of a large number of caves and sites in the Dead Sea area. A crowded audience heard Mr. Harding tell of the very remarkable discoveries of documents and fragments made by himself and his distinguished collaborator Father de Vaux. The most noteworthy find was what appears to be an authentic letter of the famous Jewish rebel leader, commonly known as Bar-Cochba, or " Son of a Star," a name given to him by Rabbi Aqiba in reference to the Messianic hopes which had been raised by the appearance of this guerilla leader. His rising was the last desperate flare up of Jewish revolt against Rome. It took place under Hadrian and was repressed with great severity. A photograph of the letter with translation and commentary may be found in the *Revue Biblique* for April, 1953. Mr. Harding made it clear that more surprising discoveries are to be expected from that strange region of " dens and caves of the earth."

The same issue of the *Revue Biblique* contains a full account by Father de Vaux of the discovery and exploration of the caves of Murabba'at. It gives photographs and translations of various Hebrew documents found in these caves. We hope to be able to publish Mr. Harding's lecture, mentioned above, in the next issue of this journal

Dr. Kathleen M. Kenyon has returned from a second successful season of excavation at Jericho. Her account of the season's work appears in this number of the journal. One of the most striking finds, unique of its kind so far as is known at present, was a number of skulls, seven in all, embedded in the pre-pottery Neolithic level. The peculiarity of these skulls is that they have been moulded in plaster into portrait heads. In Dr. Kenyon's first account of them, in *Antiquity*, June, 1953, she says : " The features, eyebrow ridges, eyelids, ears, nose and mouth, are all delicately modelled and the eyes inserted, against an internal backing of plaster, with shells. In one case the shells are cowries, in the others flat shells in two leaves, separated by vertical slits to represent the pupils. The whole effect is extraordinarily life-like." The purpose of these curious objects is still a matter of discussion ; it is almost certainly ritual, and the ritual use by the early Egyptians of portrait-statues of the dead seems the nearest parallel furnished by archæology.

One of the most exciting pieces of recent news in the archæological field is that the Minoan Linear B script has at last been deciphered. This achievement is linked with the names of Mr. Michael Ventris and Mr. Chadwick. They have promised to give an account of their results in the January number of *Antiquity*. Meanwhile we are only told that the language is ancient Greek.[1] The late Miss Melian Stawell, who laboured much at the riddle of the Minoan script, always maintained that the language preserved in the script was some form of Greek. It is interesting to recall that one of the last things she published was an article for the Quarterly, 1938, on the Tell ed-Duweir Bowl and Ewer, in which she found resemblances between the Minoan script and the signs on the bowl and ewer.

The controversy over the date (or dates) of the Judaean Scrolls rolls on unabated, and the general public will still flock to hear any lecture about them. In the July issue of the *Jewish Quarterly Review* Professor G. R. Driver once again returns to the charge on behalf of the Big-Endians, i.e., the adherents of the late date position, and delivers some shrewd blows against the Little-Endian theory of an early date. Meanwhile the epigraphic and palaeographic experts pursue their untroubled way and produce for our edification neat paradigms of alphabetic forms which ought to settle the date beyond dispute, but, unfortunately do not seem to have succeeded in doing so. Whatever weight may be attached to Professor Driver's philological arguments, he is surely right in urging suspension of judgement until further evidence is available. The new material coming in from Harding and de Vaux's explorations in the Dead Sea region may well provide answers to some of the problems now under discussion.

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[1] A full account of Messrs. Ventris and Chadwick's results has now appeared in *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. LXXIII, 1953.

Dr. Diringer's industry is beyond all praise. Having produced in 1947 a volume of over 600 pages on the history and distribution of the alphabet, a book which may without doubt be regarded as the standard authority on that subject, he has now produced, thanks to the enterprise of Messrs. Hutchinson, a similar volume entitled *The Hand-produced Book*. In it the learned author traces the history of book-making from its earliest beginnings down to the time when the invention of printing made unnecessary the laborious production of books by hand. A review will appear later in this journal ; meanwhile Dr. Diringer's many friends will be glad to know of his latest achievement. The price is high, 60*s*. net, but this is due to the very large number of valuable illustrations with which the volume is accompanied. Messrs. Hutchinson are to be congratulated on its production.

Since the appearance of our last issue the world of Biblical and Oriental scholarship has suffered the loss of two distinguished specialists by the lamented death of the Regius Professor of Hebrew at Oxford, Canon H. Danby, and of the Rev. Père F. M. Abel, of the Dominical School at Jerusalem. Dr. Danby is no doubt best known to students by his very useful translation of the Mishnah which appeared in 1933. Père Abel is well known for many works on Biblical subjects, and especially for his authoritative Geography of Palestine. He published in 1952 his *Histoire de la Palestine* in two volumes, dealing with the history of Palestine from the period of Alexander's conquest of Palestine up to the Arab invasion.

In the April, 1953, issue of the B.A.S.O.R., Professor Albright publishes an article on some new light from Egypt on the perennial subject of Hebrew chronology. The two points discussed are the synchronism of Rehoboam's reign with the Egyptian king Shishak, or Shoshenq I, mentioned in I Kings, xiv, 25, and the old problem of whether there was a second campaign of Sennacherib against Hezekiah. The article contains much valuable information. Professor Albright has also a short note on the home of the Ugaritic Danel, identifying the HRNM of the Ugaritic texts with Hermel-Harnem lying south of Kadesh on the Orontes.

The Biblical Archæologist for May, 1953, is mainly occupied with an account by Professor Kenneth Clark of Duke University of a most interesting enterprise in which he was the leader. This was nothing less than the immense task of exploring the libraries of St. Catherine's Monastery in Sinai, of the Greek Patriarchate in Jerusalem, and of the Armenian Patriarchate, also in Jerusalem, in order to microfilm the Greek manuscripts which they contain. Nor was Greek the only language dealt with ; a large number of manuscripts in Arabic, Ethiopic, Georgian, Slavonic, Syriac, and Armenian were also filmed. Professor Clark's summary of results may best be given in his own words : " Many have asked about new discoveries. It is inevitable that some discoveries should be made in so extended and thorough a search, in such venerable and massive collections. Certain new manuscripts have been cited above, of modest but unmistakable importance. To examine minutely these vast collections of thousands of manuscripts in a matter of months was obviously impossible. It seemed the wiser plan to be inclusive rather than meticulous. Therefore, the emphasis of the expedition was to secure on portable film a large portion, and the most important sections, of the great collections. Consequently, there stand today in orderly array in the Library of Congress about 2,700 ancient 'volumes' which previously were inaccessible for examination. We do not yet know fully all that they contain, nor are we yet aware of the full significance of particular texts. Assuredly 'discoveries' are yet to be made, but it is now possible for many to participate in the search. Like Mohammed's mountain, the great libraries of Sinai and Jerusalem have been brought to the scholar and have created a new and challenging horizon."

A valuable addition to the rapidly increasing volume of literature concerning the Dead Sea Scrolls, as for convenience we must continue to call them, is to be found in Vol. 3, No. 1 of the Israel Exploration Journal. It is an article by D. Flusser entitled *The Apocryphal Book of Ascensio Isaiae and the Dead Sea Sect*. The author's purpose is to establish the thesis that this remarkable book is part of the literature of those whom he describes as " the Dead Sea Sect," and to whom he assigns both Schechter's Zadokite Fragment and the new sectarian books, such as the Manual of Discipline and the Habakkuk Commentary, found in the caves of Khirbet Qumran. The article is a careful piece of work and will repay study.

OBITUARY

Professor E. L. Sukenik

The death of Professor E. L. Sukenik has been noted with regret by the many who had come to know him through his archaeological work in Palestine both during the period of British administration and after. The Palestine Exploration Fund loses in him a distinguished member, and this journal a frequent and valuable contributor.

Eleazar Lipa Sukenik was born in Bialystok in 1889. He received a traditionalist Jewish schooling; a keen zionist, he went to Palestine in 1912 and became a teacher. During the Great War he interrupted his work to serve with the British forces. Shortly after the war Sukenik became actively interested in Palestian archaeology, a subject to which he was introduced largely by Père Vincent of the École Biblique in Jerusalem. He studied Classical Archaeology and Semitic Philology at Berlin University, later rounding off his training by a research fellowship at Dropsie College, Philadelphia. There he also took his doctorate. In 1926 he became associated with the Hebrew University in Jerusalem where he gradually rose to become lecturer, curator to the Museum of Jewish Antiquities, and finally Professor of Palestinian Archaeology, which post he held at the time of his death.

Professor Sukenik's contributions to the field he had chosen have been many, and some of them of outstanding value. He was assistant field director of the Ophel excavations in 1928, and on the staff of the Anglo-American-Hebrew excavations at Samaria, 1931–3. His name is also linked with excavations at Hedera, Affuleh, T. Jerisheh and T. esh-Shuni/Kudadi. Of great importance was his work in association with L. A. Mayer on the famous and still puzzling Third Wall at Jerusalem. But he created a special field for himself in the study of Jewish tombs and their inscriptional material, and also of ancient synagogues. His work on tombs centered largely but not exclusively on Jerusalem: it helped to gather a great deal of useful material but also lead to such striking achievement as the recognition of the funerary tablet of King Uzziah (*PEFQ*, 1931, p. 217 ff), and the discovery of some exceptionally early Christian epigraphic material (*AJA*, 1947, p. 351 ff). His epigraphic training gained in this field also enabled him to establish for the first time the existence of a local Jewish coinage under the Persian Empire (*JPOS* XIV, 1934, p. 180 ff). But of special importance was his work on synagogues, both where excavation was concerned (as at Beth Alpha, el Hammeh, Selbit, and Yafi'ah) and in the comprehensive study of the data acquired by himself and others. In reviewing the history of synagogal building he established a second main type of structure after the one studied by Kohl and Watzinger. His work of synthesis was given to the world in his Schweich lectures to the British Academy in 1930 (published in 1934 as Ancient Synagogues in Palestine and Greece) and in later articles. His study on the first Samaritan synagogue ever excavated perhaps deserves a special mention (*Bulletin* of the Louis M. Rabinowitz Fund for the Exploration of Ancient Synagogues, No. 1, 1949).

Sukenik very early recognised the general character and value of the now famous Dead Sea Scrolls, and during his last years his energy was largely devoted to this subject. Here, as in other fields, death came before he could work out and publish his findings fully. He will be remembered as a man who has achieved much, but also as a pleasant and kindly host at his home in Jerusalem. He leaves a widow and two sons.

B. S. J. Issserlin.

EXCAVATIONS AT JERICHO, 1953

By KATHLEEN M. KENYON

The second season of excavations at Jericho was carried out from the end of December to the beginning of April. As in 1952, it was a joint Anglo-American expedition, the British School of Archæology in Jerusalem and the Palestine Exploration Fund being the joint British sponsors, and the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem representing American interests. Contributions to the British share of the cost of the expedition were made by the British Academy, Sydney University, the Ashmolean Museum, Birmingham City Museum, the Russell Trust, the Australian Institute of Archæology (Melbourne), Liverpool University, Cambridge Museum of Archæology and Ethnology, Leeds University, Glasgow University, Edinburgh University and Trinity College, Dublin, and to all these institutions the grateful thanks of the excavation committee is due.[1]

Dr. A. D. Tushington, Director in 1952–53 of the American School, acted once more as Assistant Director of the Excavations, and thanks are due to him not only for his service in this capacity, but for the loan of much valuable equipment and for generous hospitality at the School. The staff, consisting mainly of members of the two Schools, averaged twenty-two for most of the season.

The Department of Antiquities of the Hashemite Kingdom of the Jordan gave all possible assistance to the work, and a deep debt of gratitude is due to Mr. G. L. Harding, F.S.A., Director of the Department, for his constant help and interest. Mr. Auni Oajani, Inspector of the Department for Western Jordan, acted as Field Assistant throughout the season, and also gave most valuable assistance in negotiations and arrangements. Much assistance in the provision of equipment and facilities was also given by the Palestine Archæological Museum, and the purchase by the Museum of one of the Middle Bronze Age tomb groups was a most valuable contribution to the excavation funds.

Work was continued in all the main areas begun in 1952 (see fig. 1). In Trench I and Site GI the investigation was continued on the Early and Middle Bronze Age defences of the city, and on the Early Iron Age building at the foot of the mound. In sites DI, FI, GI, EI and II, further clearance was carried out in the Neolithic levels. In site EIII and the area immediately to the west, further work was done on the Early Bronze Age levels, which is intended eventually to link up with the deep sounding of Professor Garstang's trench. In Site HII an additional area of the Middle Bronze Age storerooms,

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[1] I also received a personal grant for my expenses from the Leverhulme Trust.

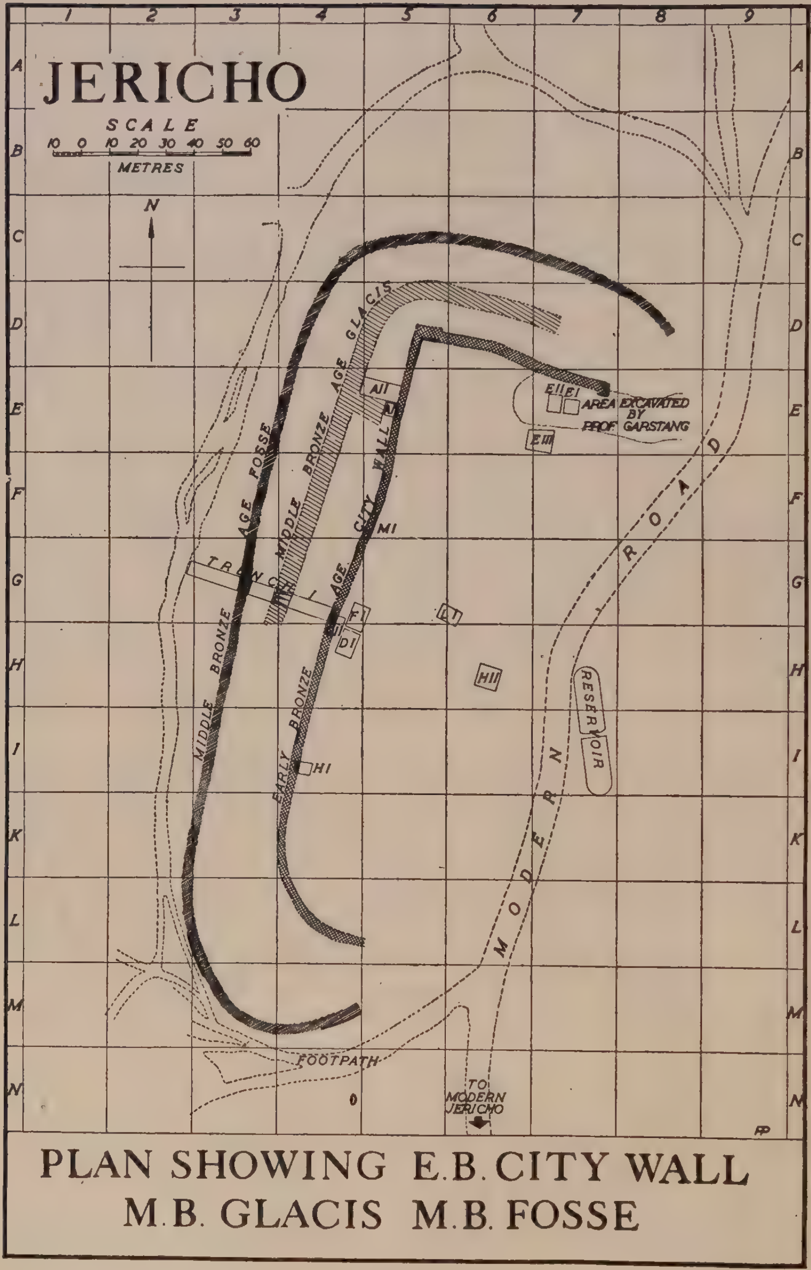

JERICHO
SCALE
10 0 10 20 30 40 50 60
METRES
N
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
A B C D E F G H I K L M N
MIDDLE BRONZE AGE GLACIS
MIDDLE BRONZE AGE FOSSE
EARLY BRONZE AGE CITY WALL
TRENCH I
AII
MI
FI
DI
LI
HII
HI
EII EI
AREA EXCAVATED BY PROF. GARSTANG
EIII
MODERN ROAD
RESERVOIR
FOOTPATH
TO MODERN JERICHO
PLAN SHOWING E.B. CITY WALL
M.B. GLACIS M.B. FOSSE

Fig. 1

discovered by Professor Garstang, was cleared. The only new site begun, MI, was in the south-west corner of square F5, where the end of the great German trench against the Early Bronze Age city wall was re-opened. Work was also continued in the cemetery area to the north of the Tell.

THE NEOLITHIC PERIOD

The outstanding find of the Neolithic period was that of seven skulls on which the features had been most realistically moulded in plaster. But in order to make clear the position of these portrait heads in the Neolithic sequence of Jericho, the present state of knowledge of the period on the site will be first described.

It will be remembered that in 1952 a massive wall was discovered in Site GI, which had every appearance of being a town wall. This year the area was extended to the north, and a total length of 10 m. of the wall was uncovered (pl. XXXV). Its course is in the main north and south, but its line is somewhat sinuous. It was hoped to pick up the continuation in Site MI, 30 m. further north, but the depth of deposit here was unexpectedly great, and the base of the pottery Neolithic level has not yet been reached. The length of wall uncovered is however very impressive, and the clearance down of the levels to the west enables clearer views of it to be given.

It was already apparent in 1952 that this wall rested on some 0.50 m. of earlier occupation levels above bedrock. Further clearance has thrown interesting light on these levels. The earliest surface was a plastered floor, lying in part immediately on the rock, and in part on a packed fill in hollows on the rock. Only a very limited area of this has so far been uncovered, and no walls connected with it have been found. Above that is a surface associated with a group of mud brick structures, of which the walls are still standing to the height of about a metre. These structures are unlike any of the other Neolithic buildings, for the walls of the rooms are curved (pl. XXXV). It would thus appear that curvilinear structures preceded rectilinear at Jericho, and it may well be that these buildings represent the translation into mud-brick of the tents or temporary shelters of the nomadic predecessors of the first Neolithic settlers. The area cleared, however, is insufficient for it to be known yet if this curvilinear plan is typical of the earliest building phase.

The next stage was the construction of the great town wall. The curvilinear buildings were buried in the debris of their own destruction, and into this were set the foundations of the new wall (see section, fig. 3). The full details of its construction are not yet clear. For the most part it is built on an appreciable batter, probably against an earth fill. Excavation at its rear has however only been carried to bedrock in a narrow trench at the north end of the section explored. The wall here survives to a considerably less height than elsewhere, and it is not impossible that its top has been rebuilt. This section however confirms the existence of earlier structures underlying it, though their character is not yet clear. The very varying character of the face of the wall can be seen in the photograph, and also by comparing the drawn section in the 1952 report (*P.E.Q.*, Oct., 1952) and that published this year.

In the next stage, the great wall was abolished. A thick fill, largely composed of fallen bricks, runs up against its face, which suggests that its superstructure was of brick, and its top is crossed by a series of plastered floors. This bricky fill would appear to be retained by another substantial stone wall further down the hill, which may succeed the earlier one in function, but this wall has been touched in one place only, and the excavation of the intervening area is not complete, so conclusions concerning it can only be provisional.

The plastered floors belong to the type of Neolithic building made known by Professor Garstang's excavations, and further excavated in 1952, in which walls and floors are continuously covered with a fine burnished plaster, the walls being substantial and the plan rectilinear. The buildings are described and illustrated in *P.E.Q.*, Oct., 1952. It is not yet certain whether any structures of this type are contemporary with the great wall, but they certainly belong to the suceeding phase. In Sites DI and FI, adjacent to the great wall, three main successive structures of this type have been excavated so far, while in Site EI–II, to be described below, there seems to be a longer succession. It is to this phase that the portrait skulls belong. They were found in a fill between two contemporary walls of this type (see section, Fig. 2), sealed by the plastered floor belonging to them, and there is at least one other later floor of the same type. Beneath the fill is another similar floor, which may be that of the building to which the heads originally belonged.

These buildings are succeeded by another type, in which the walls are roughly built of undressed stones, and the floors are of beaten earth. At least three building phases can be attributed to this stage, and it is probable that when all the plans are correlated these phases will be multiplied.

All the stages so far described belong to the period before the introduction of pottery. The only tentative steps in the direction of the manufacture of pottery which have been found are the lining of pits in the floor with plaster, and the modelling of small figurines of animals in clay (Pl. XXXVIII, 1). The main utensils were of stone. Large numbers of fragments of stone bowls were found, mainly small ones ground out of soft white limestone but there were some large ones of harder stone, of which the manufacture must have been very laborious. The flint industry was rich and the implements finely worked. Of particular interest is the large number of querns, indicative of a flourishing agriculture. The form of these querns is distinctive ; they are rectangular with rounded corners, and the grinding area runs out to one end (Pl.XXXVIII, 2).

Evidence is growing that there was a sharp break between the pre-pottery and pottery Neolithic cultures. Stratigraphically, the levels are divided by a period of erosion and quarrying. The sections show how on the brow of the hill the pre-pottery floors and walls are broken away on a steep slope, and in places pits cut down steeply into the earlier levels. These pits, which contain a considerable amount of Neolithic pottery, are mostly full of loose rubble, and it would appear probable that this was sifted out from soil dug for the purpose of making bricks, a phenomenon which recurs on a number of other occasions at Jericho. It would appear that the decayed buildings of the earlier phase were used as a quarry by newcomers, who thereafter levelled over the area with a fill containing a large number of fragments of their pottery. Secondly, the pottery seems to appear fully developed. The finest decorated pottery appears from the first, together with coarse wares. In the third place, the architectural methods are new. Some curved structures again appear, and the bricks are of an entirely different shape, bun-shaped or plano-convex. The flint industry has not yet been fully examined, but that again seems to show differences.

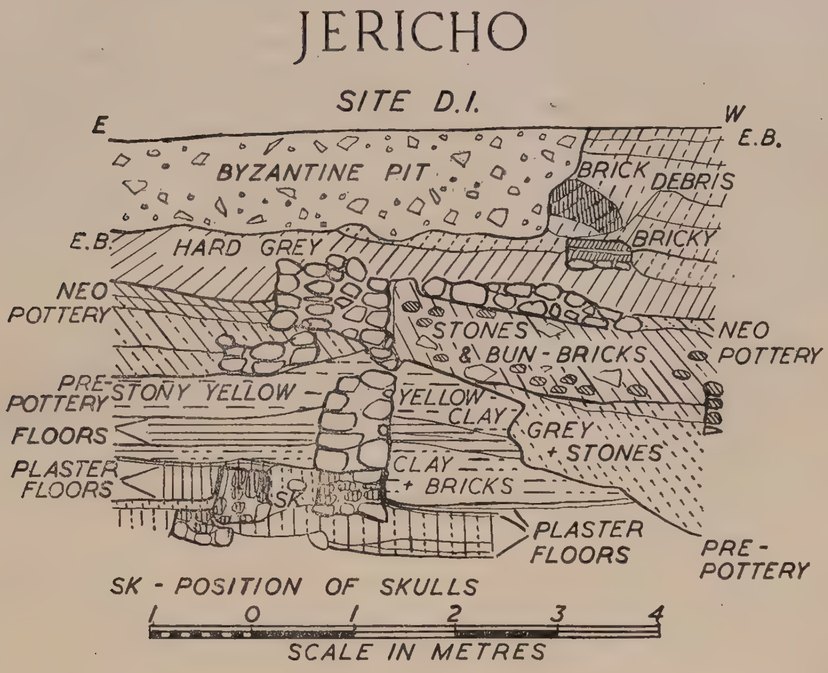

JERICHO
SITE D.I.
E
W
E.B.
BYZANTINE PIT
BRICK DEBRIS
E.B.
HARD GREY
BRICKY
NEO POTTERY
STONES & BUN-BRICKS
NEO POTTERY
PRE-POTTERY
STONY YELLOW
YELLOW CLAY
GREY + STONES
FLOORS
PLASTER FLOORS
SK
CLAY + BRICKS
PLASTER FLOORS
PRE-POTTERY
SK - POSITION OF SKULLS
1 0 1 2 3 4
SCALE IN METRES

Fig. 2

The structures of this period were for the most part ill-preserved, and a considerable succession of superimposed buildings made the working-out of the plans complicated. The latest structure of the period was a broad wall of large plano-convex bricks running somewhat obliquely across the total length of Sites DI and FI, which from its character was clearly a boundary wall, possibly a town wall.

The surface which sealed the highest Neolithic pottery level as it dipped down the slope of the mound was very well-marked, and its appearance suggested a definite humus level. In a climate such as that of Jericho, the formation of such a level would presumably indicate the lapse of a considerable period of time before the arrival of the next occupants of the area at the beginning of the Early Bronze Age, c. 3100 B.C. In this area, no traces have been found of a culture corresponding to Professor Garstang's Chalcolithic Level VIII.

The Neolithic sequence so far traced in this area may be summarised as follows :—(A) First occupation, with curvilinear houses ; (B) Great wall ; (C) Rectilinear houses with plastered walls and floors, possibly associated with another wall further down the mound ; (D) Houses with stone-built walls and earth floors ; (E) Neolithic pottery phase.

The portrait skulls thus belong to the third of these five Neolithic phases. They were found in the south side of Site DI, in the position shown in the section, Fig. 2. The skull shown in this section was revealed in trimming down the side of the excavated area, but as only a small portion of the unplastered top of the skull was visible, its importance was not immediately recognized. It was left in position for some weeks, until the measured drawing of the section had been completed. It was therefore only at the very end of the dig that it was excavated and its extraordinary character revealed, as well as the fact that it formed part of a deposit of seven, extending well back from the excavated area.

The impression given by the skulls as they were freed from earth in the wall of the square is illustrated by Pl. XXXVI, 1, and their extraordinarily lifelike character can be seen on that and the following plate. Actual human skulls have been used as a basis on which the features have been modelled in plaster. In only one instance is the lower jaw actually present; in the others its lines are represented in plaster, which gives the heads a rather squat appearance. The tops of the skulls are in all cases left bare, the plaster starting at the level of the temples. In one case, Pl. XXXVI 3, the top of the skull is decorated with broad bands of black paint, possibly to represent a headdress. Six of the heads have eyes inset with flat leaves of shell, always with a central slit to represent the pupils. The seventh has eyes of cowrie shells, of which the horizontal slit gives an impression of sleep. The base of the skulls is completely covered with plaster, and there is no indication that the heads were ever attached to bodies. The interior of the skulls is solidly packed with earth, which was certainly inserted before the plaster was applied, for, when complete, there was no aperture by which it could have entered. The skulls were therefore presumably exposed until the soft tissues had decayed, before the features were moulded.

The purpose of the heads can only be conjectured. As found, they lay in a discarded heap, buried in the debris of one house and sealed by the floor of the succeeding one. They lay at all angles, and some were considerably damaged. There is thus no evidence as to their original position. The only real parallels to such heads are modern anthropological ones. In the New Guinea area, features are similarly modelled on skulls, in some areas those of ancestors whom it was desired to preserve in honour, in others those of enemies preserved as trophies. Similar ideas must be the motive in the probably similar primitive society of Neolithic Jericho. The impression that the Jericho heads give of being portraits, from the careful attention to detail given in the modelling, would suggest that the heads were those of venerated ancestors rather than trophies, but this can only be a guess.

Artistically, the find is also of great importance, as representing the earliest known attempts at human portraiture which can be clearly linked with modern art. The great art of Palaeolithic men is certainly earlier, but that has no known line of connection, in its great antiquity, with that of the present. The Jericho artists belonged to a settled community, from which the culture can be traced unbroken to modern civilization, and the oriental art of Sumeria, Babylon and Egypt provide the links with the Hellenic world and the present.

It is interesting to compare these heads with those found by Professor Garstang (Liverpool Annals of Art and Archæology, Vol. XXII, Pl. LIII). The latter are very much more stylised. Skulls are not used as the foundation, and the heads are flat and disk-like. Shells are used as eyes, but they have not got the central slit representing the pupil. On the other hand, more use is made of paint to represent features, hair and headdress. Unfortunately, the exact chronological relationship cannot be definitely established. The earlier finds were made at the north-east corner of the tell, where the stratification was much confused. They appear, however, to have come from approximately the junction of the pre-pottery and pottery Neolithic phases. This would confirm the later phase suggested by the greatly increased stylisation.

The chief interest of the Neolithic finds has thus been concentrated on the area in the centre of the west side of the tell, but excavation of the Neolithic levels was also carried out in Site MI and at the north-east end of the tell in Site EI–II. In the former area, only the pottery Neolithic levels were excavated, though clearance of the trench of the German expedition confirmed the existence here of the plastered floors typical of the pre-pottery stage, several of which had been cut through by the earlier expedition without their significance being realized.

In Site EI–II, excavation was continued down at the base of Professor Garstang's deep trench. It revealed a succession of houses, all with the typical plastered floors and walls, basically similar in plan, though in each successive stage almost all the walls were completely rebuilt on a slightly different line. In the centre of the area at each stage was a courtyard, flanked to east and west by rooms, which tended to be set slightly further west with each rebuilding. It is not yet clear whether these rooms are part of a building grouped round a central courtyard or are separate, adjacent houses, but this will emerge when the area to the south has been cleared to this level. The relative levels of the courtyard and buildings varied at different stages in their life. In the courtyard were innumerable levels of ash and silt, evidence of its use for cooking and of the accumulation of rain wash. In each stage, the surface of the courtyard gradually rose above the level of the adjacent building. When the building collapsed, its debris was levelled over to conform with that of the courtyard, and the process began once more.

Advantage was taken of the absence of walls in the courtyard to sink a trench with the object of ascertaining the depth of the deposit. The base of the plastered floor type of building was reached at a depth of 1·80 m. below that of the lowest level fully excavated, which corresponds approximately to Professor Garstang's level XIII. Below was a fill of brownish earth, in which charcoal provided evidence of human occupation, but not enough was cleared to indicate its character.

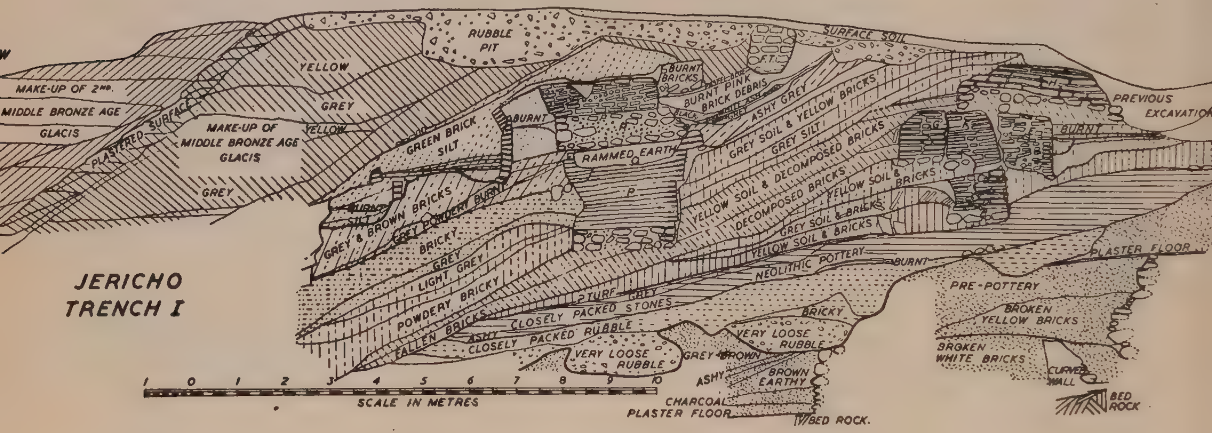

JERICHO
TRENCH I
MAKE-UP OF 2ND.
MIDDLE BRONZE AGE
GLACIS
PLASTERED SURFACE
MAKE-UP OF
MIDDLE BRONZE AGE
GLACIS
YELLOW
GREY
YELLOW
GREY
RUBBLE
PIT
GREEN BRICK
SILT
BURNT
BURNT
SILT
GREY & BROWN BRICKS
GREY POWDERY BURNT
BRICKY
GREY
LIGHT GREY
POWDERY BRICKY
FALLEN BRICKS
ASHY
?TURF
GREY
CLOSELY PACKED STONES
CLOSELY PACKED RUBBLE
VERY LOOSE
RUBBLE
RAMMED EARTH
P
R
BURNT
BRICKS
BURNT PINK
BRICK DEBRIS
PASTEL BLUE
BLACK
WHITE ASH
GREY
ASHY GREY
F.T.
SURFACE SOIL
GREY SOIL & YELLOW BRICKS
GREY SILT
YELLOW SOIL & DECOMPOSED BRICKS
DECOMPOSED BRICKS
YELLOW SOIL &
BRICKS
GREY SOIL & BRICKS
YELLOW SOIL & BRICKS
NEOLITHIC POTTERY
BURNT
G
E
H
PREVIOUS
EXCAVATION
BURNT
PLASTER FLOOR
PRE-POTTERY
BROKEN
YELLOW BRICKS
BROKEN
WHITE BRICKS
CURVED
WALL
BED
ROCK
BRICKY
VERY LOOSE
RUBBLE
GREY BROWN
ASHY
BROWN
EARTHY
CHARCOAL
PLASTER FLOOR
BED ROCK.
1 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
SCALE IN METRES

Fig. 3

The Early Bronze Age

Work on the levels of the Early Bronze Age was mainly confined to the dissection of the earlier city walls of the period and their contemporary levels in Trench I, since in most of the areas excavated this horizon had already been passed. It was found that the history of the walls was considerably more complex than was realized in 1952. It would require too much space in this interim report to describe the evidence concerning all the walls in detail, and the succession is therefore only summarised here, and illustrated in section in Fig. 3.

A. The first wall was founded immediately on the surface which sealed the latest Neolithic level (see p. 85). This only survived on the south side of the trench, and is not visible in Fig. 3. The wall apparently collapsed from an earthquake and its debris is represented by the yellow soil and brick level into which wall B is built. The face of the surviving section on the south side was involved in the collapse. To this phase belongs an external semi-circular tower (Pl. XXXIX, 1) of which the stone footings alone survive, which is very much earlier than any other known example.

B. Wall B was built on the same line as A, at a slightly higher level, incorporating the remains of A. The face of this also collapsed, and its debris is seen tumbled down the external slope.

C. The face of B, and presumably its superstructure, was rebuilt.

D. The wall was strengthened by the addition of another against its inner face. This survived only at the extreme south end of the trench. It was destroyed by fire.

E. After the fire, wall E was built to replace the destroyed portion of wall D, on the same line. This is the wall shown in the section, Fig. 3. The northern half of C was still unstable, and again collapsed, as did the face of the southern portion.

F. The collapsed portion was rebuilt, its inner face not conforming exactly to wall E, which had been built against its predecessor.

G. The composite wall was again strengthened by the addition of a new wall against the outer face.

H. After the collapse of the tripartite wall, with the talus of its decay again tumbled down the slope, an entirely new wall was built at a higher level. This was set slightly further east, and was built of very much larger bricks.

J. Wall H was also rebuilt, but this does not show in the surviving portion on this side of the trench.

K—O. Walls H and J are in Trench I covered by layers of brick debris, of which the source is not indicated in this trench. Wall H can, however, be traced through to the north, where in Site MI (Square F5) it is seen to be succeeded by three further walls. These can in turn be traced through to Site A (*P.E.Q.*, Oct., 1952, Fig. 3), in which the uppermost of the Site M walls is represented by the third (penultimate) wall of that section. Sites M and A therefore provide evidence of a further four stages. Thus in Trench I, four stages of the wall on the inner line are missing. It should be noted that the surviving height of the Tell is here considerably lower than further north.

P. Into the debris derived presumably from the missing walls is built Wall P, its face 8 m. in advance of that of Wall H. This wall differs in character from the preceding one in the extreme thinness of the mortar joints, almost impossible to see in section. The face of this wall in due course collapsed, and was very irregularly preserved.

Q. After this collapse, the superstructure of the wall was rebuilt. To the height preserved, only the two faces of the rebuilt wall were of brick, the intervening space being filled with rammed earth. In the south half of the trench, the face of the rebuild was supported by very heavy stone foundations in front of the face of the wall. Against both faces of this wall were found layers of grey powdery material, suggesting it was destroyed by fire.

R. On top of the stump of this wall a new one was built. The evidence suggesting that this was done in great haste, and that the wall was never finished, is described in *P.E.Q.*, Oct., 1952, pp. 64–5. This wall is the latest of those belonging to the Early Bronze Age, and its destruction is attributed to the nomadic invaders of the Intermediate Early Bronze-Middle Bronze phase, probably to be identified as the Amorites.

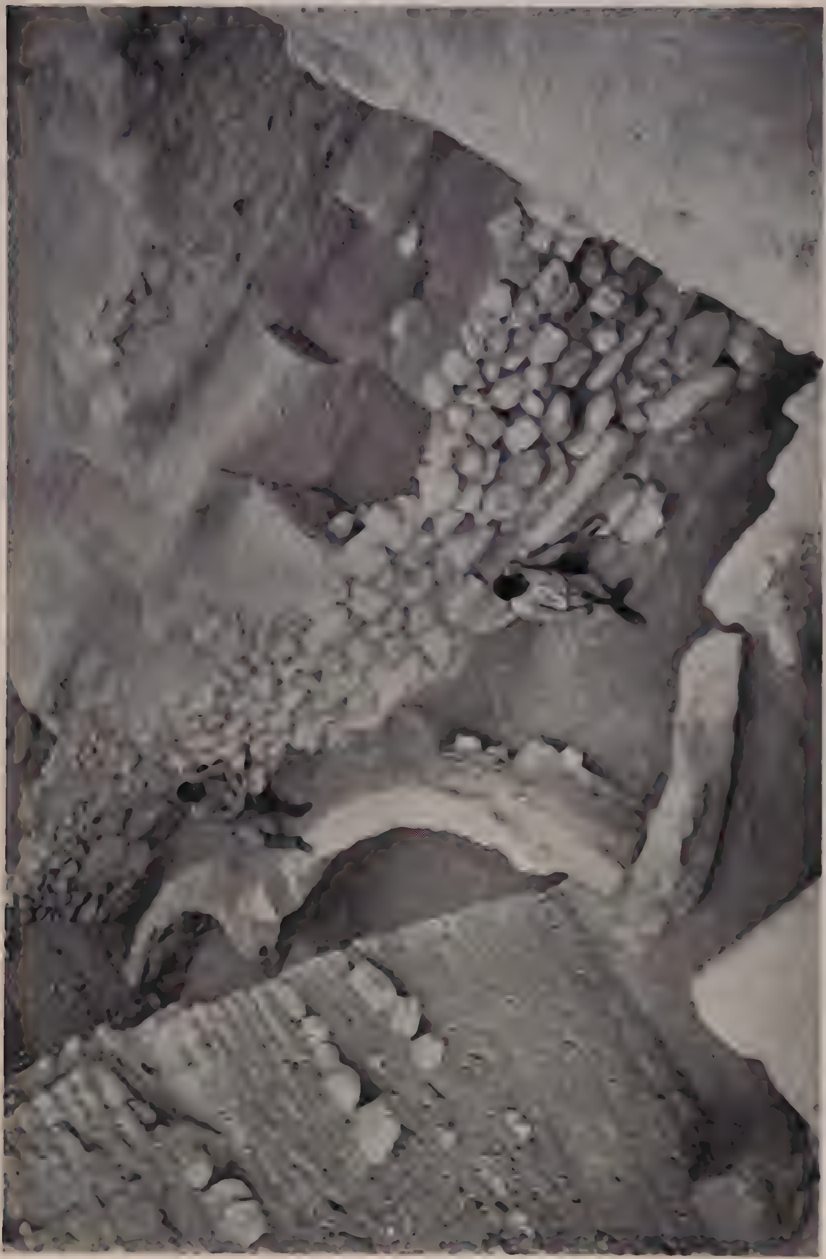
Intermediate Early Bronze-Middle Bronze

The slightly-built structures of this phase, with their characteristic thin walls of green brick were traced down the mound, overlying the debris layers of the Early Bronze Age, to the point where all layers are cut by the steep slope of the Middle Bronze Age glacis. Their excavation is not yet complete. Two phases are shown on the section, Fig. 3. Nowhere has any evidence been found of a town wall of this period. Everything points to the fact that the newcomers were not urban-minded. On the tell, their buildings seem to sprawl over the whole mound, and traces of occupation of the period have been found at widely separated places in the cemetery area to the north of the Tell. With the exception of one Early Iron II deposit, wherever occupation levels have in fact been found in this area, they belong to this period. In most cases occupation is indicated only by pottery, and there are no traces of structures; many of the newcomers may therefore have lived in tents or slight shelters. Additional light is thrown on them by the tombs, which are described below.

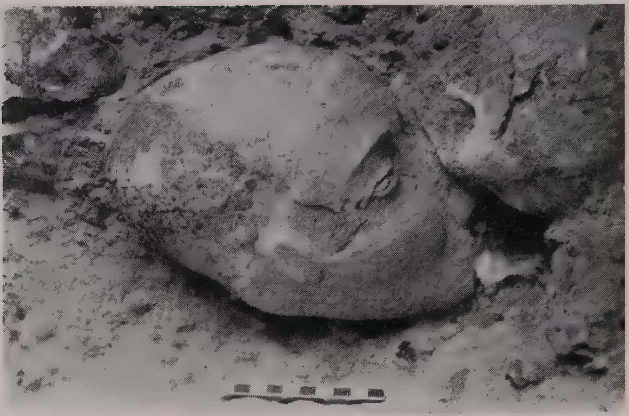
Middle Bronze Age

The excavation in Trench I of the two plastered glacis and the stone revetment was continued. The clearance of the base of the inner, earlier, plastered glacis is not yet complete, but it would appear to have ended further up the mound than the later one. The second one of which the plastered face was very thin and of which the slope is much steeper than that of the earlier, showed two periods of construction, a collapse of the original face being repaired with a patch, to which the existing plaster surface belongs. The base of this phase is formed by a rough revetment of large stones, of which the base is about ·75 m. above bed-rock.

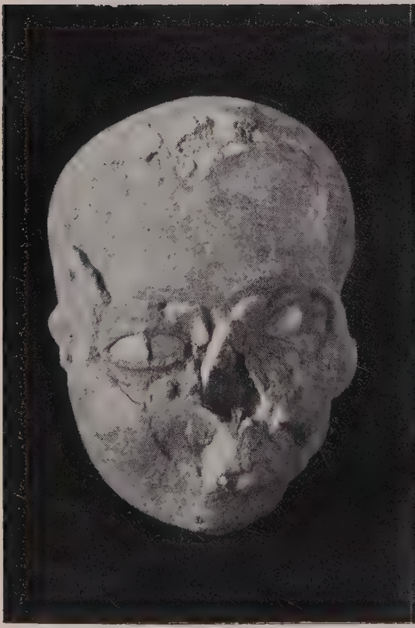
The face of the great stone revetment was completely excavated (Pl. XXXIX, 2). It rested on bed-rock. It is constructed of large boulders, with the faces only roughly dressed, and the interstices are packed with small stones. It has been usual to refer to this structure as the revetment of a Fosse, but this is a misnomer. In this area there was certainly no external ditch. Rock was reached in three places, at the west end of the trench, at the foot of the



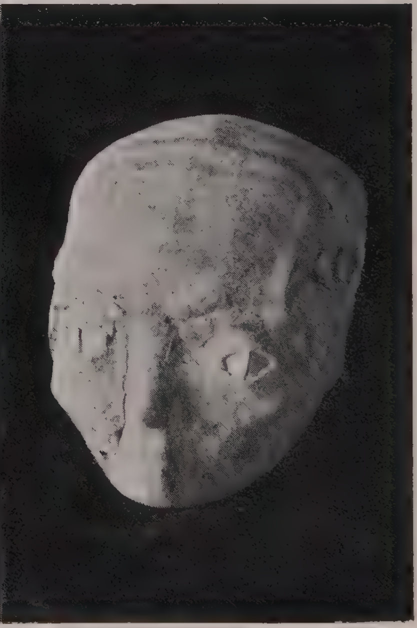
Pl. XXXV. Great Neolithic wall.



Pl. XXXVI. 1.

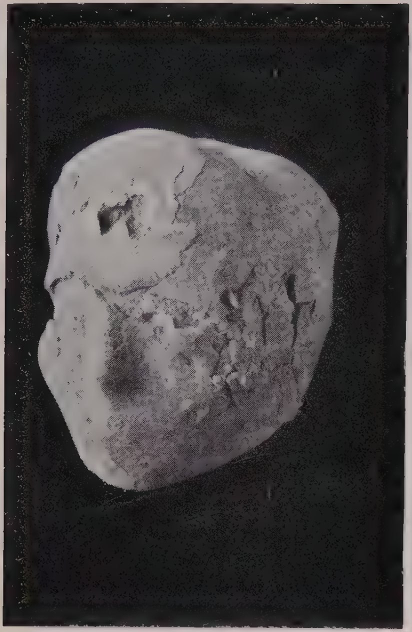


Pl. XXXVI. 2.

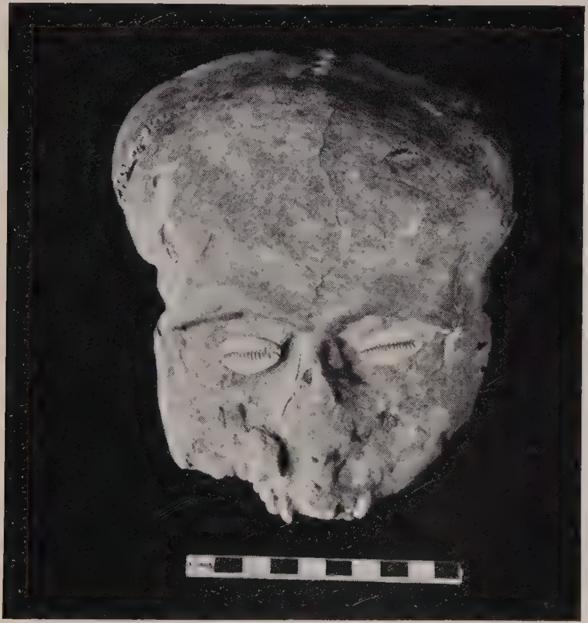


Pl. XXXVI. 3.

Pl. XXXVI. Neolithic Portrait Heads.

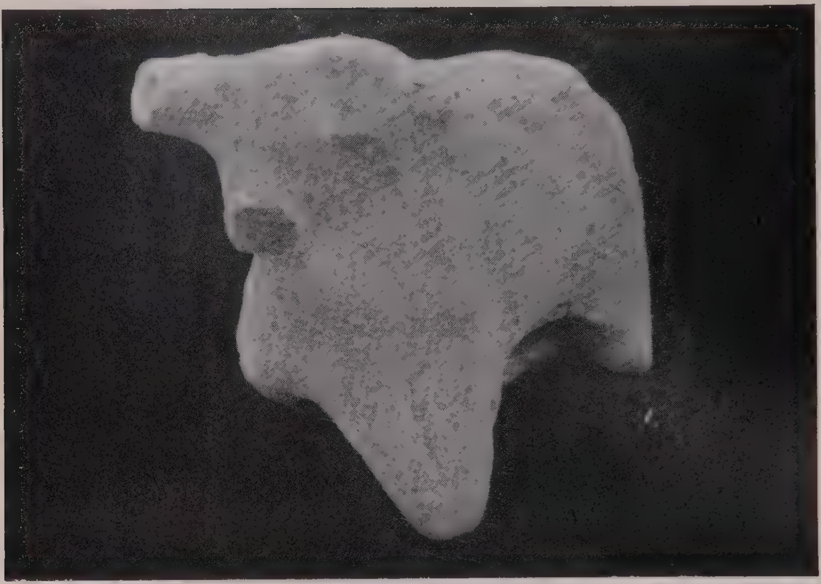


Pl. XXXVII. 1.

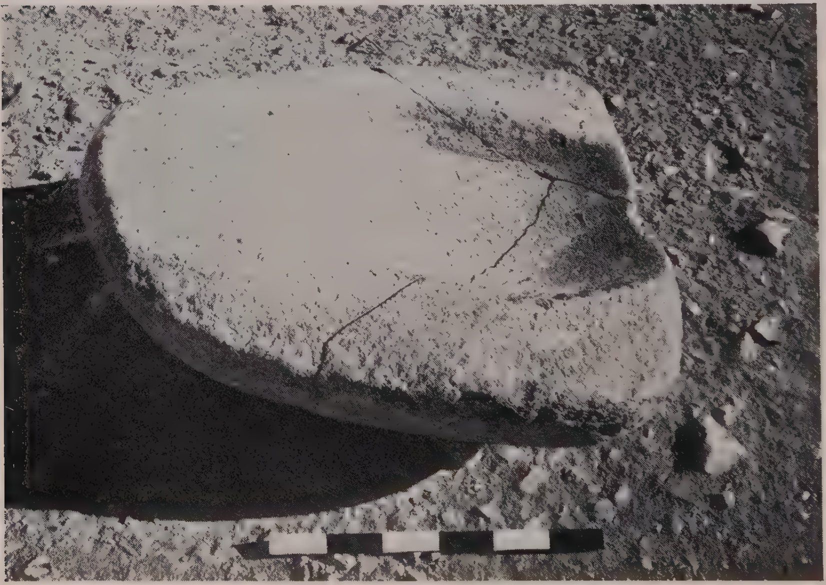


Pl. XXXVII. 2.

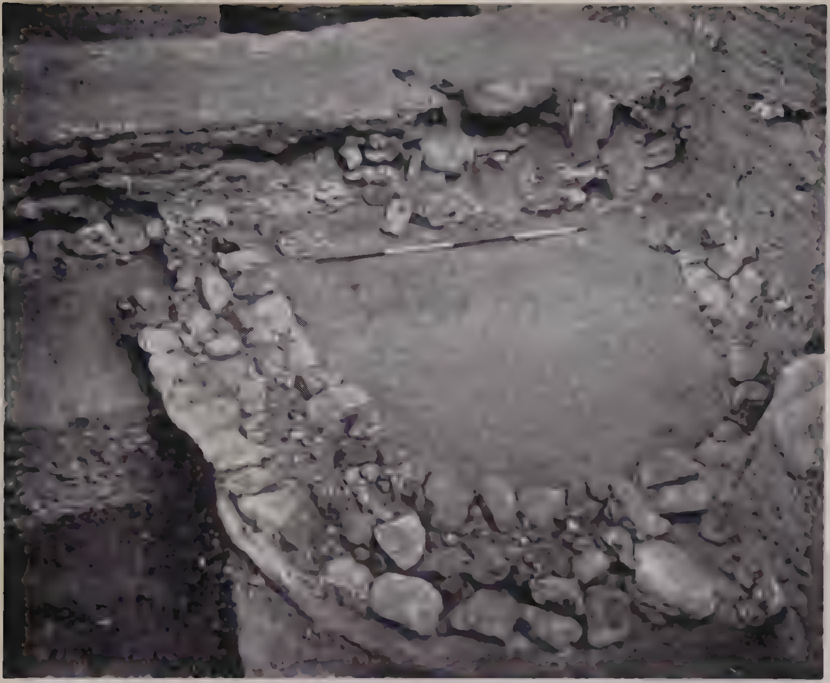
Pl. XXXVII. Neolithic portrait heads.



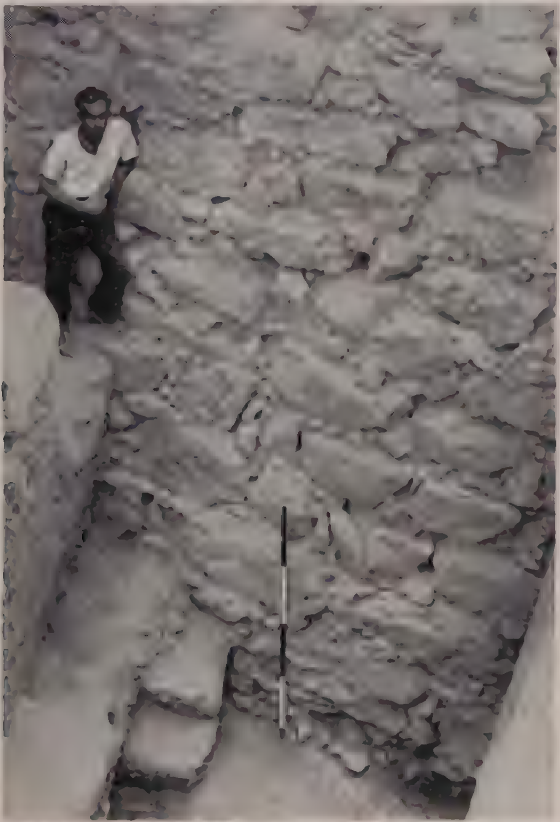
Pl. XXXVIII. 1. Neolithic animal figurine



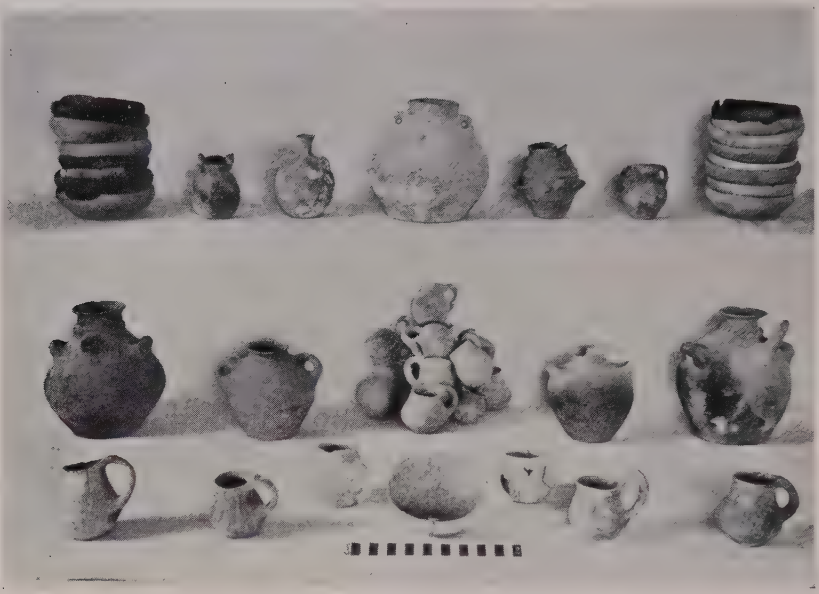
Pl. XXXVIII. 2. Neolithic Queen.



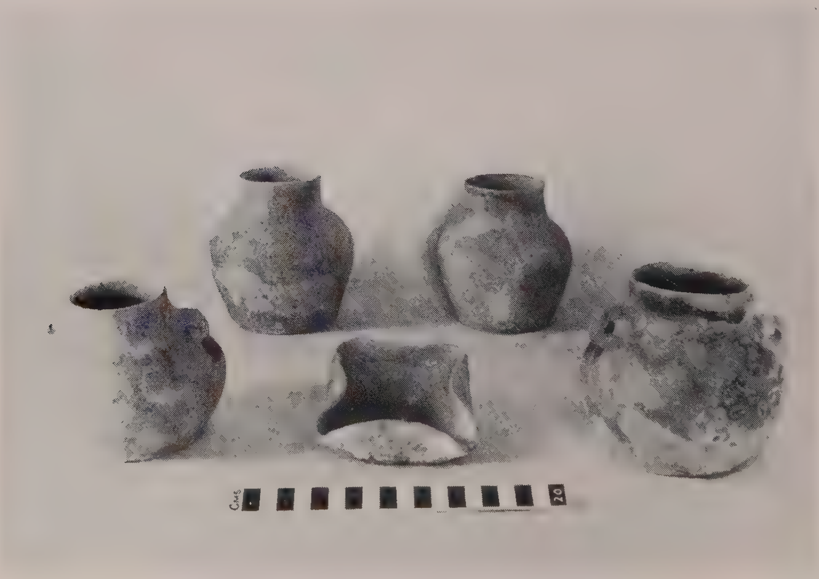
Pl. XXXIX. 1. Semi-circular external tower on first-early Bronze Age wall.



Pl. XXXIX. 2. Middle Bronze Age stone revetment.

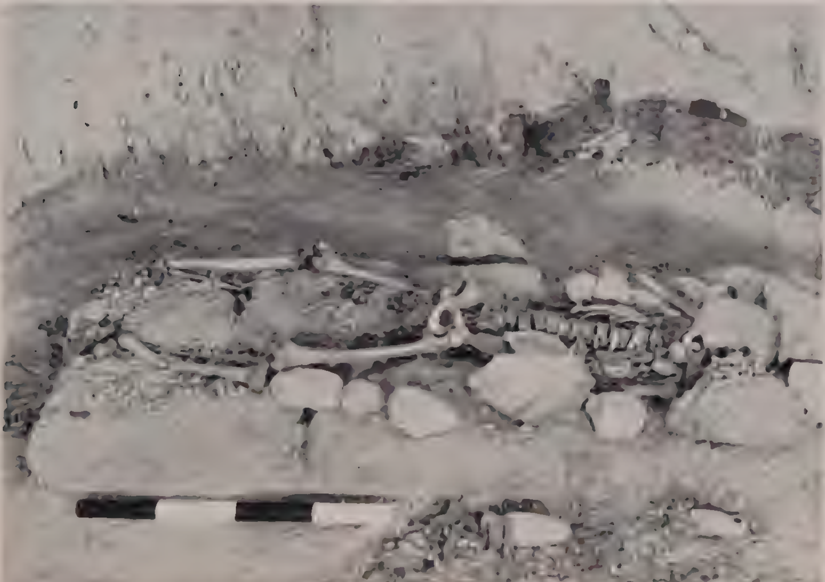


Pl. XL. 1. Late Bhaliolithic pottery from Tomb A.94.

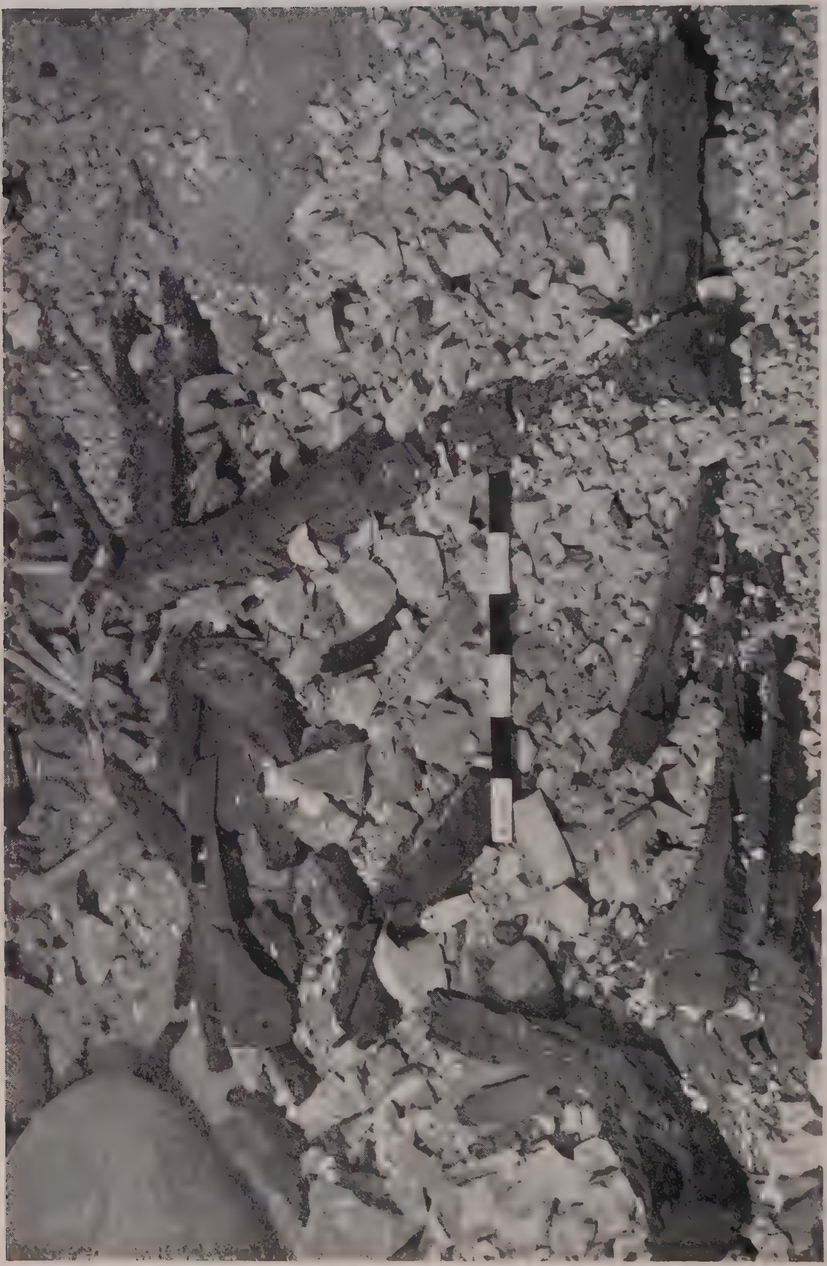


Pl. XL. 2. Early Bronze—Middle Bronze Age pottery from Tomb H5.

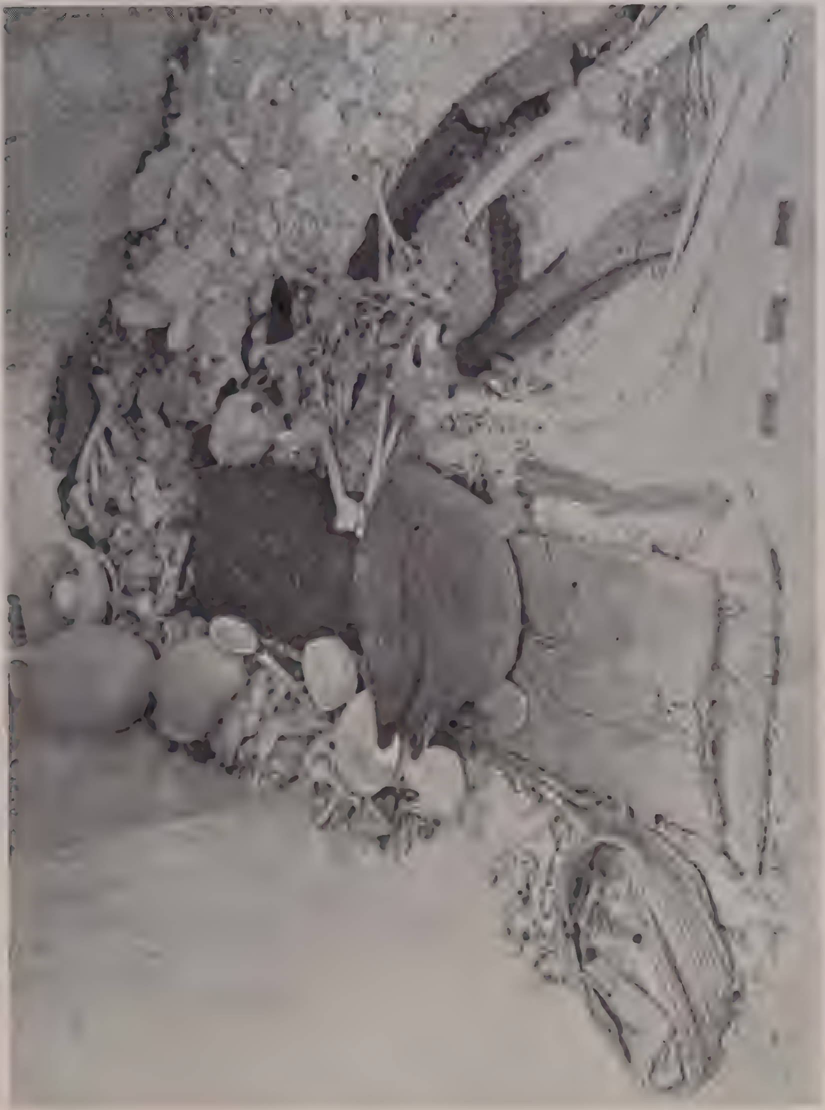
Pl. XLI. 1. Tomb H.22 : shaft. E.B.-M.B. tomb, re-used in Middle Bronze Age.



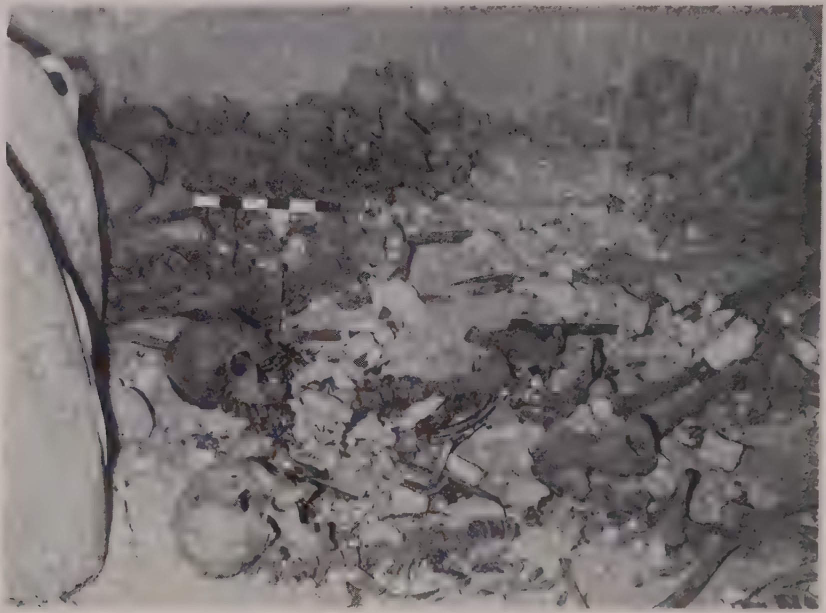
Pl. XLI. 2. Tomb H.6 : burial on dais. Middle Bronze Age.



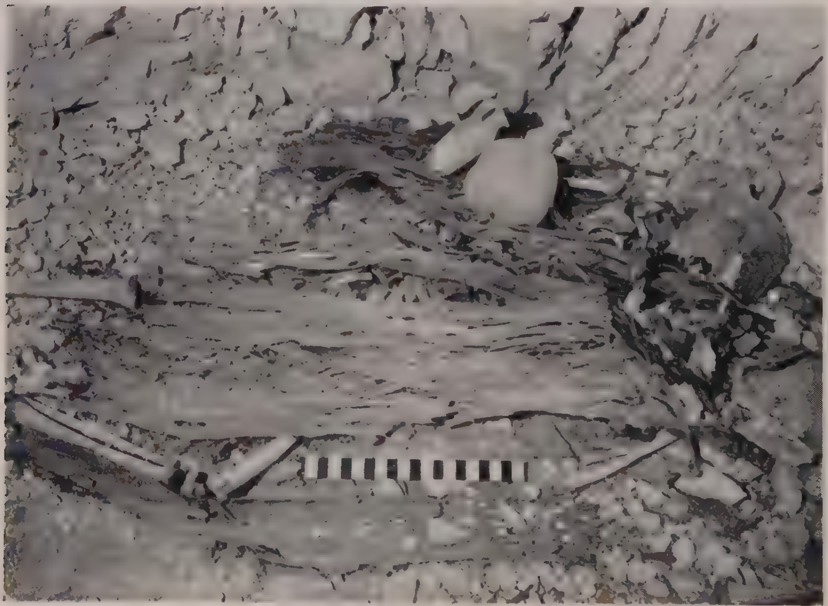
Pl. XLII. Tomb H.6. Stool in situ.



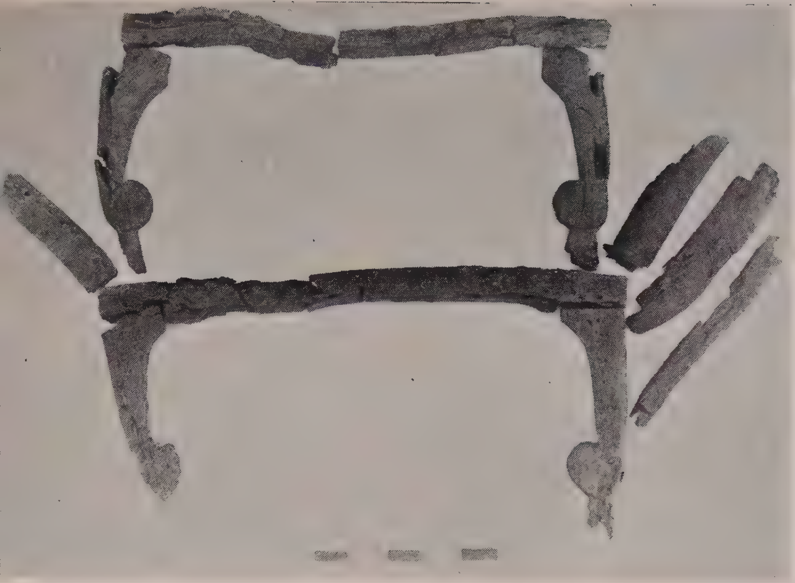
Pl. XLIII. Tomb H.18 Body on bier, with table, wooden bowl and basket

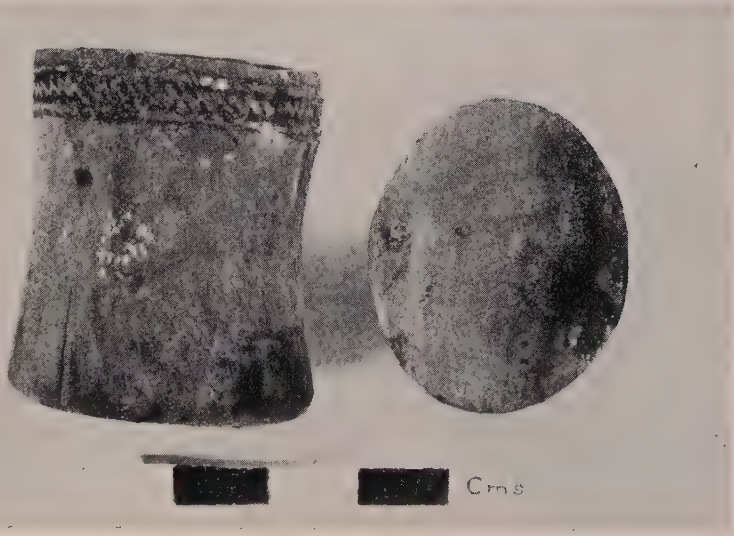


Pl. XLIV. 1. Tomb G.1 : General view of skeletons ranged side by side.



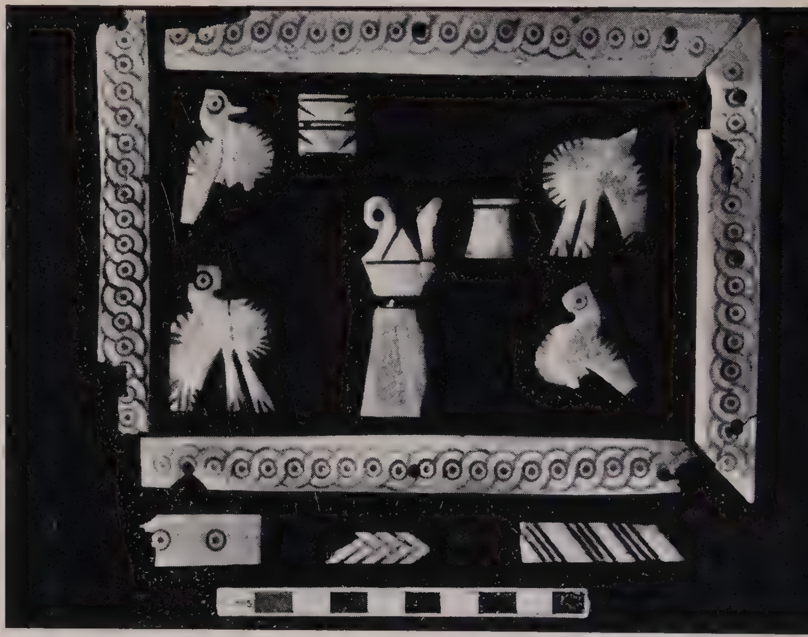
Pl. XLIV. 2. Tomb H.22. Rush matting.





Pl. XLV. 1. Tomb H.6 : sections of stool after lifting (above, left).

2. Tomb H.11 : wooden box and lid (below, left).



Pl. XLV. 3. Tomb H.18 : bone inlay (above).

revetment, and immediately behind it, and it is clear that the rock is sloping down gently from *west* to *east*. It is only to the east of the last-mentioned point that it starts to slope up to what must have been a very low natural hillock. The rise between this point and the next point to the west at which it has been reached is about 3 m. in 30 m. It is, of course, possible that at other points in the Tell the natural slope of the rock necessitated some external excavation to maintain the level of the foot of the revetment, but this must have been incidental, rather than an essential part of the defensive scheme.

EARLY IRON AGE

As in 1952, no traces at all of remains of the Late Bronze Age were found in this area. Beneath the massive Early Iron II building which immediately overlies the top of the stone revetment, excavation was carried down in two places to rock. Deposits of Early Iron II were found immediately to overlie debris with Middle Bronze pottery, which had apparently accumulated against the face of the revetment. A considerable portion of the EI.II building was cleared, but no evidence was found as to its purpose. It was of the tripartite plan common at the period, and its massive character suggests a public building of some sort. It belongs to the middle of three Iron Age phases, being succeeded by what would appear to be a double enclosure wall, of slight construction, running round the foot of the tell, and preceded by an earlier building, not yet fully excavated, also belonging to EI.II.

THE CEMETERY AREA

The search for tombs in the area to the north and north-west of the Tell, beneath the refugee village, was continued. 65 tombs were located ; of these, 52 were intact, and only 13 robbed. The earliest belongs to the Late Chalcolithic period ; one was E.B.I ; one E.B.III ; 44 E.B.–M.B. ; 7 M.B., 5 of which were re-used E.B.–M.B. tombs ; one E.I.I. One small group of L.B.I pottery, corresponding to Professor Garstang's Tomb 5, and including a " Thotmes III " two-handled jar, was brought in by a villager, and was said to have come from a tomb. On the crest of the slope to the west of the tell, two E.I.II tombs were excavated, one robbed, but one intact, though badly damaged by roof-fall. Two Roman tombs were excavated in the main area.

LATE CHALCOLITHIC PERIOD

In Area A, due north of the Tell, in the centre of the refugee village, a large tomb, A94, was found belonging to what is usually called the Late Chalcolithic period. It corresponds closely to tombs found at T. el Far'ah, near Nablus[1], where similar pottery is associated with grey burnished

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[1] E.g. *Revue Biblique*, LVIII, figs. 4, 5, 6, 7, 11, 12.

Esdraelon ware. No pottery of this period has so far been found on this tell, and it does not apparently resemble that of Professor Garstang's Level VIII. The roof of the tomb was destroyed, and one part could not be fully excavated, as it had been cut into by a latrine trench. It had also been cut into at different points by an E.B.I tomb, an E.B.–M.B. tomb and an M.B. one. Its plan could therefore not be fully made out, but it was apparently an irregular oval in shape, approached by a shallow shaft at the foot of which was an entrance of massive stones. In its centre was a large cremation area, a mass of ashes and burnt bones. The practice of cremation did not apparently include the skulls. These were detached, presumably after a period of exposure, for there is no evidence that they were cut off, and were set in rows round the edge of the tomb. 135 skulls in all were recovered, some blackened from the cremation fire, but not intentionally burnt. With them were enormous numbers of pots, of a very limited repertory of forms. The vast majority were small juglets and flat-based dishes. A selection of them and the few outstanding vessels is shown on Pl. XL, 1.

Early Bronze Age

A small E.B.I tomb, A108, was cut into one corner of A94, just described. Where it cut into the fill of the latter tomb, a rough wall of stones was built to retain the loose soil. It was in part destroyed by the latrine trench. The contents were a small number of highly burnished vessels.

A single, much destroyed, E.B.III tomb, F3, was found in the neighbourhood of F2. It was found at the very end of the season, and the material has not been fully examined, but it would appear to be of the same character as F2 (*P.E.Q.*, Oct., 1952, p. 74), and as Professor Garstang's Tomb A.

Intermediate Early Bronze-Middle Bronze

A large number of tombs of this period was found. In Area H, a number was excavated of the same type as those found in 1952. In this type, the shaft and chamber are small and neatly cut. In the great majority there is a single burial, but occasionally two ; the skeletons are found intact, lying in a slightly flexed position. The offerings are either a single dagger, of the type illustrated in *P.E.Q.*, Oct., 1952, Fig. 4, these presumably being male burials, or a pin and beads, presumably belonging to females[1]. Most of the tombs of this type were found regularly arranged in rows along either side of a shallow wadi in Area A.

An entirely different type of tomb, which from the pottery must belong to the same general period, was found this year in Area H, a spur to the south-west of Area A. In this type, both shaft and tomb are very large, the shaft being up to 4 m. deep and 3 m. wide, and the chamber up to 4 m. in diameter. The connecting entrance from shaft to tomb, however, is invariably very small (Pl. XLI, 1). The cutting of shaft and chamber is very rough; 22 tombs of this type were excavated, of which 5 had been re-used in M.B. The intact ones all contained a single burial, in spite of the very great size of the tomb, but in contrast to those of the other type, the skeletons were disarranged. It was at first thought that this had been caused by flooding, but it became clear that in fact the bodies had all been dismembered before interment. They must have been exposed until the flesh had disintegrated almost completely (in a few cases adjacent bones were in articulation, so the muscles had therefore not completely decayed), and then placed piecemeal, and often considerably scattered. With the bodies were placed a small number of vessels, averaging four, of which a typical group is illustrated on Pl. XL, 2. An invariable feature was a small niche cut in the wall of the tomb for a lamp. The lamp, always of the four-spouted type, was in many cases found in position, or fallen to the floor beneath the niche, and had certainly been lighted in the niche.

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[1] The skeletal material has not yet been reported upon.

The relation of these two types of tombs can at present only be conjectured. Not enough is known about this E.B.–M.B. phase, for it to be possible to say whether the difference is chronological. On the whole it appears more probable that it is racial, and that these tombs represent the burials of a different section of a probably composite group of nomadic invaders.

MIDDLE BRONZE AGE

The most striking group of tombs belongs to the Middle Bronze Age. I will be remembered that in 1952 we found a number of rich tombs of this period, which were remarkable for the fact that wooden and other perishable objects were preserved. The tombs were however of the same multiple-burial type found by Professor Garstang, in which earlier burials were repeatedly pushed on one side to make room for fresh bodies, and bones and offerings were therefore in complete disarray, and considerably broken. This year 6 tombs were found which were used for a relatively short period. There was usually a small pile of bones and objects from previous burials in the corners, but the rest of the area was occupied by a number of intact burials which must all have been put in at one time, and the tomb thereafter sealed and not used again. We therefore found them exactly as they were left, and, except for one in which there had been a heavy roof-fall, they were in perfect condition.

These tombs are remarkable in three ways. In the first place, all except one of them are re-used tombs of the E.B.–M.B. pottery type just described. In some cases the early burials were removed, and much of the pottery stacked in the shafts. In others, they were covered with a layer of earth, and the new burials made on a new surface.

Secondly, they are remarkable for the fact that anything from four to ten bodies were put in at the same time. In two cases, one of the bodies appears to be a principal burial, and the rest subsidiary. A possible explanation in these instances would be that servants or members of the family were killed to keep the principal corpse company. But in the others, the bodies are simply ranged side by side with no suggestion of differentiation, so this explanation is unlikely. Since there is so much similarity in the pottery and other tomb furniture, it seems probable that the burials in all this group of tombs were made simultaneously, or at least within a very short period, probably in the seventeenth century B.C. It thus seems likely that the bodies are those of victims of some disaster, famine or some infectious illness. A superficial examination did not show any sign of injuries, so slaughter in war is less probable.

Thirdly, the tombs are remarkable for the incredible state of preservation of the offerings. An indication had been given of the properties of the Jericho climate in preserving perishable objects by the 1952 finds. But the type of multiple-burials in the tombs found then meant that many of the objects had been broken and the parts scattered. In the new tombs, the objects were found almost perfect, though terribly fragile. The furniture included wooden tables, stools, bowls and boxes, many of them with bone inlay ; baskets containing toilet utensils such as wooden combs, alabastra, little boxes, and material which may be the remains of wigs ; rush mats, of which the weave was clearly identifiable, and fragments of textiles. There were, of course, many pottery vessels as well.

In an interim report, it is not possible to describe all the tombs in detail, and only some of the more striking points can be given. As has already been mentioned, in two tombs one of the burials was given special prominence. In H6, the centre of the tomb was occupied by a low platform of mudbrick, on which the principal burial was placed (Pl. XLI, 2). Ranged round it were the bodies of one adult, one young person and a child. Just inside the entrance was a wooden table, of the type found in all the tombs. They varied from 3 to 5 ft. long, but were only 1 ft. to 1 ft. 6 in. wide, and all had two legs at one end and only one at the other. All consisted of a single plank, with a border neatly affixed by tenons. In no case were the legs preserved, as they had collapsed with the weight of the table as the wood decayed. Beside the table were two stools, one of which had been too large to bring through the small entrance, and it must therefore have been dismantled and deposited in sections. Beside the principal burial were the remains of wooden boxes inlaid with carved bone (cf. Pl. XLV, 3), which had contained toilet requisites. There were also wooden dishes and bowls. A great storage jar still had the dipper flask, with which the liquid could be ladled out, in the mouth.

In H14, the principal burial was immediately inside the entrance. The body lay on a wooden bier or bed, which was covered by a rush mat. Beside it was a very large table, on which was a wooden bowl loaded with joints of mutton, and a complete sheep lay against the wall. A basket contained toilet requisites (Pl. XLIII).

In the other tombs, the bodies were ranged side by side (Pl. XLIV, 2). The offerings were of the same type ; each tomb had its table, basket, rush mats, many wooden combs and rows of pots round the walls. There were also many scarabs, the majority unfortunately without inscription.

These tombs afford evidence never before obtained of the complete tomb furnishings of Palestinian Middle Bronze Age tombs. From these can also be inferred the furnishings of houses of the period. It has not been possible yet to do any work on the finds, but it is clear that many of the objects have Egyptian parallels. The stools, for instance, are of Egyptian type.

Three at least of the tombs are to be reconstructed as found, at Amman, Jerusalem and the Birmingham City Museum. They will thus form far more interesting exhibits than if the finds were placed in museum cases.

Early Iron Age

A single E.I.I tomb, probably tenth century B.C., was found in the main tomb area. It was of the same shaft type as the earlier tombs. Two E.I.II tombs were found on the crest of the hill immediately west of the tell. One was almost completely robbed. The other was intact, but was totally destroyed by the collapse of the roof. These tombs were of the chamber type, entered by steps down from the side of the hill. The central area was flanked by benches, a common Iron Age type. The numerous finds included a seventh century B.C. date.

Roman

One Roman tomb, in a re-used M.B. shaft tomb, contained two small stone ossuaries. Another consisted of radiating loculi. Both were badly robbed.

Conclusion

Both tell and tombs have thus produced finds of outstanding importance. Most of the work on the Tell is still incomplete. It is hoped that it will be financially possible to continue work for several seasons more.

JERICHO EXCAVATIONS

ACCOUNTS OF 1952 EXPEDITION

EXPENDITURE	£	*Totals of Main Heads* £
Equipment—		
Camp	195	
Photographic	6	
Repair of finds	3	
Digging	84	
		288
Expendable materials—		
Photographic	55	
Repair of finds	8	
Digging	62	
Stationery	94	
Medical	40	
		259
Transport, Postage Bank—		
Transport of materials to and from Jordan	387	
Transport in Jordan	15	
Postage, etc.	17	
Bank charges	12	
Car	118	
		549
Rent and Repairs		140
Camp Expenses—		
Food	616	
Canteen	28	
Household	61	
Fuel	27	
Camp wages	201	
		933
Expenses of Personnel—		
Travel	585	
Grants	43	
		628
Labour		639
Miscellaneous		25
		3,461
Balance in hand		166
		£3,627

INCOME	£	*Totals of Main Heads* £
Per British Committee—		
British School of Archæology in Jerusalem	750	
Palestine Exploration Fund	400	
British Academy	500	
Sydney University	200	
Birmingham City Museum	75	
Ashmolean Museum	50	
Cambridge Museum of Archæology and Ethnology	20	
Queen's College, Oxford	5	
Private Donations	79	
B.S.A.J., for Director's expenses	200	
Sydney, for transport of materials	180	
Press articles	15	
		2,499
Per American School—		
American School of Oriental Research	942	
A.S.O.R., for maintenance of personnel	132	
		1,074
Pontifical Biblical Institute		54
		£3,627

Auditor's Certificate.—I have compared the above statement of accounts with the figures submitted to me and believe it to be correct.

(*Signed*) G. M. FITZGERALD.

THE SHIP TYRE

By Sidney Smith

Ezekiel xxvii is the most elaborate of many passages about ships and shipping in the Old Testament which show an understanding of and feeling for life at sea. We rarely think of that part of the population which abode not far from the Phoenician ports. Yet the voyage of Jonah only reproduces what must have been a common incident, and some men must always have been attracted to the life of the ports. In the sixth century B.C. there would be, in any audience, some who had experience of, or knew something about, ships and the life at sea.

Our own knowledge of ships at that time is incomplete and confused. During the Hellenistic period there were many experiments in building ships of war, some of which remained in use among eastern fleets employed by the Romans; these have been described by Dr. W. W. Tarn, *Hellenistic Military and Naval Developments*. The Romans experimented, too, but their main aim was to adapt war ships to the methods of land battle; the information has been collected and discussed in J. H. Thiel, *Studies on the History of Roman Sea Power in Republican Times*. To the general accounts, such as A. Köster, *Das antike Seewesen*, M. Seyrig has recently added an extremely interesting note on a model in the round, almost certainly made at Sidon, dated to the year A.D. 121/2, which he regards as probably a trading vessel, possibly one that could be adapted for use in war, in *Syria*, XXVIII, 101–113. Studies of Egyptian shipping relate to much earlier periods when the conditions were almost certainly quite different, for Herodotus called Phoenician ships used in the Persian war triremes, and both navigation and battle tactics in the fifth century B.C. must closely resemble Phoenician practice in the sixth. The visual aids to modern understanding of shipping in the time of Ezekiel are Greek vase paintings, and some Assyrian reliefs, one of which, though damaged, represents a war galley, while some others show war vessels adapted to the needs of a particular campaign. The Greek terminology is fairly well known, and is of course of prime importance in considering Ezekiel xxvii.

One sail only was used, what I understand can be called a " course ", and it was only used in a favourable wind; during storms, in a dead calm, and in battle it was disposed of below deck. The navigator stood on a raised deck in the bow, guiding the course by gestures, the πρῳρεύς or πρῳράτης; the duty must have required reliefs, but the skipper was always presumably responsible. To the forward officers there corresponded a set of officers in the bow. The Greeks mention only a single steersman, κυβερνήτης, but the two long oars used would surely need two men, working from a raised deck in the stern, taking directions from the bow; the single officer in the representations seems to be the responsible officer, the men who worked the gear are omitted. In addition to the actual steering, control of the sweeps naturally came from the stern. The rowers were on the lowest deck, and were divided into squads, aft, midship and forward, each group under a sub-officer. By the fifth century the oars were rowed through outriggers with tholes on or about the same level; Dr. Tarn has given an account of the matter in his article *The Oarage of Greek Warships* in *The Mariner's Mirror*, XIX, i, 52–74. The Assyrian relief does not seem to indicate an outrigger, or at any rate does not represent it clearly, and it suggests that about 700 B.C. the oars were grouped in pairs, one perhaps slightly longer than the other. There was no skill whatever in such rowing at any time; it must for the most part have been done under the lash, as earlier in Egypt, as Sir Alan Gardiner has shown in *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, III, p. 47. Failing direct evidence about the Phoenician navy we can turn to the Athenians for the attitude of the conscripted free men; directly wars brought them a sufficient number of slaves, they insisted on being released from service as oarsmen, as we know from Aristophanes. There were not so many sailors that the Phoenicians could spare skilled men for this task.

Battles at sea required trained soldiers. In the Assyrian relief their presence is indicated by round shields hung along the deck above the oarsmen; these were the Greek ἐπιβάται. There had to be a squad of craftsmen too. By the time of the Persian wars the first manoeuvre in battle was to deploy into line abreast; then came the attempt to drive between the ships of the enemy, breaking the oars, and ramming. The maintenance of as many ships in action as possible after the first clash was the way to victory. Quick repair, especially caulking, was a responsible job. The Assyrian relief shows the ram was used in the seventh century, and the description by Sennacherib of his building of his battle fleet shows the long preparations required in building. Most ancient sea battles were broken off; the losing side tried to save as much as possible of the existing fleet.

It was common practice to use trading ships in battle. They might be adapted, and in different periods the adaptations required varied, either because of developments in tactics or because of the needs of a special expedition. It seems most improbable that in the sixth century Phoenician vessels engaged in trade differed much from battle ships. Pirates always existed in the Levant seas; the *Lugga* of the fourteenth century B.C. corresponded in their activities to the Lycians later. Any Phoenician ship passing along the Egyptian and North African coast must have been prepared to fight; the route northwards along the Syrian coast and then westwards must have required fighting vessels, and it would be more economical to have vessels built to serve a double purpose. If there was a distinction, then probably the fighting vessels also had traders aboard. Once again, the Egyptian text speaks of the " scribe " sitting in the cabin, the skipper's quarters, and the customs at sea did not differ from land to land in such matters.

It must be remembered that all these vessels hugged the coast and were generally at sea only from dawn to dusk. At night the ship was normally beached, or rode at anchor in naturally protected or calm waters. There were no harbours in our sense, though there were quays at the acknowledged ports. What procedure was adopted by foreign trading vessels at a port has not, to my knowledge been discussed. There are indications in Homer of the way of such things in his time, and the Egyptian account of the trading voyage of Wen-Amen does not differ much. The ambassador goes ashore to negotiate for the goods wanted, the delivery of them is subject to acceptance of what he has to offer. There would not, apparently, be intercourse at all unless that was expressly permitted by the king or the ruling body. The inference is that trading vessels carried small boats. I know of no direct evidence for small boats in ships, but the absence of evidence is in this case hardly important. The procedure of vessels bringing goods from India to the jealously guarded South Arabian ports in the nineteenth century A.D. is a fair analogy by which ancient conditions can be judged.

The latest examination of what can be gathered from the Old Testament and Hebrew sources about shipping is by Dr. Rafael Patai, *Jewish Seafaring in Ancient Times*, Jerusalem, 1938, in modern Hebrew, for knowledge of which I have to thank Dr. Wartski. The step required next is to co-ordinate interpretation of Hebrew terms in dateable passages with what is known about the shipping of that period. Technical competence which I do not possess is a necessity. But in Ezekiel xxvii there are some points which result simply from the comparison of the Hebrew text with the versions; these deserve examination by themselves, because analysis of that chapter has been, it would seem, affected, even prejudiced, by the translation of words and phrases or by preconceptions. For this purpose it is not necessary to consider critical views of the whole book. For clarity I may confine myself to the *Einleitung* of Professor Eissfeldt, which gives a considered account of the literature up to 1934, and for commentary in detail on the chapter to Professor G. A. Cooke's volume on Ezekiel in the International Critical Commentary.

Chapter xxvii is one of several units grouped together because they deal with Tyre. The first, xxvi, is dated to the eleventh year of Zedekiah, 587/6. The expression of bitter feeling in it is such as might be expected in the year when Jerusalem fell. The Phoenicians then were, from the point of view of the conquered, in the position of *tertius gaudens*. The prophetic assurance that the fall of Jerusalem would be followed by an attack on, and reduction of, the city of Tyre, is in general terms; the claim made by the Babylonians to the suzerainty of Assyria, by right of succession, must have been commonly known, and there is nothing in the prophecy inconsistent with the date attached to it. The traditional date for the actual siege of Tyre is given by Josephus, 585–573, and that accords with Babylonian documents.

Chapter xxvii is very different in tone. It has been regarded as a prognostication, or as a description after the event to which it clearly refers, allegorically, the Babylonian capture of the island. Critics are generally agreed that there has been inserted into this allegory in poetic form, verses 3b–9a and 25b–36, a long prose passage, 9b–25b, that has nothing to do with the figure of the ship, and has no prophetic significance. It is an insertion, Cooke wrote, by some early reader who wished to enlarge on the glory of Tyre at the height of the city's prosperity; it possesses great interest and value as a record of Mediterranean commerce in the sixth century, but it is not the work of the author of the allegory. Eissfeldt (p. 156) could quote only one authority as disagreeing with this judgment, M. René Dussaud. There are, be it noted, two arguments. Whenever there is a combination of prose with verse, critics tend to assume contamination; yet there are many ancient texts, in languages other than Hebrew, in which prose and verse—not highly formal verse, but the balanced stresses into which prose can easily fall—are combined. The second reason is specific, and concerns only the subject matter, not a critical rule. The tenability of this reason must stand or fall by the affirmation that verses 9b–25a are unrelated in subject to the allegory.

In the poem, Cooke considered, Tyre is pictured as a gallant ship sailing proudly on the high seas, when it is overtaken by a storm and wrecked with all on board; seamen and merchants on every coast utter lamentations over the disaster. Eissfeldt only differs by stating that the ship is a merchant vessel (p. 422). If it was, then the description of merchandise in 9b–25a, and of the merchants, is not so clearly distinct in subject matter. Indeed, the figure of speech may legitimately be thought to require a description of the riches of Tyre, and an account of merchants, as in the ship.

Verses 1–3a are treated by Cooke as editorial introduction. Verse 3a says of Tyre, that it is " a merchant with the peoples to many coast "; the subordinate clause seems to emphasise the coherence of theme of 9b–25a with the prophetic message, and the verse is therefore presumably not earlier than the prose passage. The beginning of the verse is translated in the Revised Version, " Say unto Tyre, O thou who dwellest at the entry (Hebrew, entrances) of the sea ". Cooke translates, " Concerning Tyre that sits at the entrances of the sea ". The consonantal text has in the Keṯiḇ a form corrected in the Qerē to read as the normal form of the participle, by dropping the final yod. The Keṯiḇ form is found also in Jeremiah x, 17, xxii, 23, and Lamentations iv, 21, for the feminine participle; Cooke refers to these instances and adopts the explanation that the vowel ending is to add dignity to the form. That is possible in the three quoted instances, because each occurs in an utterance of the Lord; can that explanation be appropriate in an editorial addition giving the subject of an utterance that begins later? The existence of the Keṯiḇ surely points to verse 3 being, after the initial " say unto Tyre ", part of the utterance, not introduction to it. In this particular case, if the Massoretic pointing is neglected as due to the interpretation of the consonantal text from other passages, it would be possible to regard the form as interrogative before the 2nd. s. f. perf., " O Tyre, hast thou sat (or, art thou sitting) at the entrances of the sea ? ". The oratorical question, with its implication that Tyre's strategic position no longer availed, would have its meaning for an audience at the time; the Qerē might well be due to a misapprehension induced by reading words that no longer had an immediate association.

The good feature of the *Gattungsgeschichte* doctrine, the criticism by literary types, has always been the insistence on the character of the prophetic utterances as spoken words. In this verse Tyre is pictured as a ship, but it is not on the high seas. It could not be, if the ship is a good figure to describe Tyre. The ship is where the island was. The plural, " entrances ", need not be pressed, we are told, but it may refer to the two harbours. The last edition of Kittel, *Biblia Hebraica*, treats the Septuagint and Syriac versions as a reason for regarding an emendation of the Hebrew text, " entrances " to the singular, " entrance ", as probable. Does not the figure lose immeasurably in force ?

This point introduces the first critical question. If the ship was not in the figure on the high seas, but lying at the entrances to the harbours, it was not, and could not, if the figure is preserved, be sunk on the high seas. Did it sink with a loss of all hands in a storm ? The only words that can be quoted to justify this idea are in verse 26. Cooke translated: " By many waters they brought thee, those rowers of thine, / A wind from the east hath wrecked thee on the high seas ". The Septuagint, rendered in baldly literal fashion, reads " in much water your rowers brought you, the south (or south-west) wind staved them in, in the heart of the sea ". Apart from the south wind, νότος, this is a literal translation, and the verb " staved them in ", συνέτριψεν, used by Thucydides iv, 11, apparently of holing a ship by running it aground, is a good rendering of the Hebrew verb שָׁבַר, to rend, used in Genesis xix, 6, of breaking in a door. There is no doubt that if the ship was on the high seas a storm which staved in the timbers would wreck the ship. The question is, whether a storm would simply be described as an east wind, which, in the figure, is singularly apt; whether " in the heart of the seas " means " on the high seas "; and whether the first half of the verse in the Hebrew is so completely unrelated to the situation of Tyre, the ship that is meant.

It seems odd that " a wind from the east " should be, not a gale but a storm. There are descriptions in the Old Testament of storms which can be compared. In Jonah i, 4, for instance, the Lord " hurled a great wind on the sea and there was a great storm, שַׂעַר, in the sea ". A wind, as opposed to a great wind, should be a squall. If there was a storm, should it not be expressly mentioned ? The storm wind is sent " on " or " to " the sea, the violent movement (שָׂעַר is used in v. 35 of men's emotions) is " in " the sea.

" In the heart of the seas " occurs in Jonah, ii, 4: " Thou hast cast me in (i.e. into) the heart of the seas " where it clearly means " into the sea ". In Ezekiel xxvii, 34, where the same event as that of verse 26 is expressed in different words, we read, " now thou (Tyre) art broken by the seas, in the depth of the waters ". The cause of the breach is indicated by the preposition מִן, the place of the breach is given by the preposition בְּ. It rather looks as if " in the heart of the seas " in verse 26 corresponds to " in the depths of the waters " in verse 34; the cause of the staving in of the timbers in verse 26, the east wind, has become in verse 34 " the seas ". It is, I think, fair to say that " in the heart of the waters ", or " into the heart of the waters " in Ezekiel xxvii, 26, like Jonah ii, 4, where the depth of water meant is indicated by the presence of the whale, ought not, without further justification than has been given, to be rendered " on the high seas ". If further proof were needed, xxviii, 3 and Exodus xv, 8 supply it.

Are the expressions used in verses 26 and 34 incompatible with the correspondence the allegory should require between the terms used of the ship and the terms applicable to Tyre itself? Tyre was captured. We do not know how, but there are certain limits to the possibilities. At the time of Alexander's siege, described by Dr. Tarn in the *Cambridge Ancient History*, and in his *Alexander the Great*, I, 37–40, the difficulty was to get foothold on the island. The length of the siege by the Babylonians proved that the fortifications extended so low all round the island that only some exceptional circumstance led to the capture. Some irreparable breach would account for that. In the figure, the danger to any ship of a sudden squall while it lay at the " entrances " hardly needs mention. This particular squall from the land seems to me to fit as well as the rest of the description.

This last remark seems to meet with a difficulty in verse 4. Cooke translates: " On the high seas were thy borders, they perfected thy beauty ". The words " thy builders ", the subject of the verb in the second clause, are, he considered, not wanted. The force of the words is surely to show, in reference to the ship, that the shipbuilders had made a stout ship, and that the blame for its ultimate weakness did not lie with them. If we translate " In the heart of the seas were your (defending) limits " and understand by that the hull of the ship, even this phrase bears an immediate reference both to the ship and to Tyre. The word גְּבוּל, " border ", refers not only to the boundaries of lands, but also to the surrounding wall of Zion, Isaiah liv, 12, and a barrier round an altar, Ezekiel, xl, 12. There is no other case where the word is used of a ship; but the present passage is a figure. With reference to the defences of Tyre, the word is used quite naturally. At the end of the long siege, it became known that the outer defences could no longer be held, and that this weakness made further defence impossible.

There is one other passage, in the admittedly authentic verse 27, which is relevant to the consideration of the aptness of the wording. All the men in the ship fell " into the heart of the seas " in this verse, and no one doubts that the " depths " are meant. But before the men, merchandise, in two forms, is mentioned. But Cooke reduced the whole verse in length: " Perhaps the verse originally contained the single line ' Thy wealth and thy wares sink down / in the heart of the seas ' ". The suggestion that in the description of a broken ship the fate of the men in it should not be mentioned is not happy. The application to Tyre, that men in the island fortress fell—they were not thrown as carcases—into the sea might have its own significance for an audience. But why is such a point made about the merchandise? In Cooke's view, all the description of Tyre's wealth in 9b–25a is irrelevant. Yet in verse 27 its importance is clear. It seems worth while to look at the terms used in verse 19, where one word causes difficulty, because that verse seems to contain a clear indication that it was written not later than an ascertainable date.

The first two words in verse 27 are הוֹנֵךְ וְעִזְבוֹנַיִךְ and the two are summed up in the third word, " thy bartering ". In verse 19, whatever the doubtful word may mean, it should concern the action of traders, and for want of certainty I propose to take it as a participle, " going about (on trade journeys) ". The verse can then be translated: " Both Dan and Yawan were going about with your עִזָּבוֹן, they delivered iron (in some form, or of some quality), cassia and sweet calamus in your barter ". In this case עִזָּבוֹן means the goods that the Tyrians left with people who traded them for goods wanted by Tyre, then the traders delivered these commodities to the value of the goods received. The two coasts mentioned, Yawan and Dan, are, I think, identifiable. Yawan is the Greek part of Cyprus, which in the sixth century was the principal intermediary for trade between the Levant and the Aegean. Dan should be in a similar position for some other area, and eastern Cilicia was called *Yadnana* by the Assyrians about 700 B.C. In the eighth century the Karatepe inscription proves that this name *Ya-dnana* derives from the *Danunim*. Dan looks like a corruption of the name of this people, used like Yaman. This passage should not be later than the early part of the sixth century B.C. The importance of the Cilician ports is known to us from a document of the thirteenth century B.C.; iron was stored there for exchange. By the end of the sixth century the importance of the iron supply from Anatolia had dwindled.

Tarshish is named in verse 12; it was " thy merchant, because of its abundance of הוֹן; thy עִזָּבוֹן was delivered for silver, iron, tin and lead ". In this case the application of הוֹן to the goods required by the Tyrians, the metals, explains the reason why הוֹן balances עִזָּבוֹן in verse 27; הוֹן refers to goods received, עִזָּבוֹן to the consumer goods the Tyrians transported. This terminology is not common. The use of עִזָּבוֹן is confined to this chapter, the application of הוֹן to describe one side of barter traffic is peculiar to it. The uses of the terms in the prose passage explain the use in the poetic passage considered authentic. Cooke's argument is that the writer of the prose passage had the poem before him, and borrowed some of his language from it. A case might equally be made out for the opposite view; the exact use of these terms is apparent in the prose passage, the terse summary of the technical terms for trade by barter in the poem is by no means so clear. May not the truth be that the two passages belong together, and both serve to bring forward the practical lesson that the fall of Tyre taught? Tyre would have used her strength and wealth to better advantage by helping Judah before 587.

Goods and men alike fell into the sea from the ship. The application of this figure to Tyre can be seen by comparing xxix, 18–19. The date is given in verse 17, the twenty-seventh year of the captivity of Ezekiel, the first day, first month, that is first Nisan, 371 B.C. Nebuchadrezzar made his army serve a long time in the siege of Tyre, longer than any previous Oriental army we know of had served. But neither the Babylonian king, nor his army, won " wages ", that is a recompense for the labour and danger entailed, from Tyre. An audience listening to these words would not doubt the significance, and it is the significance immediately conveyed that matters when words are spoken. When Nebuchadrezzar and his troops entered Tyre, the great riches they might justly expect to take as booty, the treasures described at length in xxvii, verses 9b–25a, were not there. The message delivered by the prophet then foretells that " the land of Egypt " will be delivered into Nebuchadrezzar's hand as a recompense.

Cooke interpreted the phrase about the Babylonians receiving no wages differently; there is, he said, no evidence that the Babylonians inflicted the complete disaster which Ezekiel had foretold, so he interpreted the words " no wages " to mean that the Babylonians did not capture the city. But cuneiform documents published in 1926 by Eckhard Unger in the *Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* (N.F.) III, 314–317, prove that Nebuchadrezzar installed a Babylonian provincial administration in Tyre. When the fact of the capture of Tyre is compared with xxix, 18, the meaning of that verse proposed by Cooke cannot be maintained. When xxix, 18, is compared with the description in the allegory of the ship, the application of the falling of goods and men into the deeps of the sea to Tyre itself seems clear. The author or authors of the two passages believed that there had been an evacuation of goods and men from Tyre before the Babylonians gained possession of the island.

Verses 29–31, we are told, are a lament of the whole shipping world for the loss of the ship, that is, unless the allegory has lost its immediate relevance, for the city of Tyre. No audience in Palestine, or, for that matter, in Babylonia, can have believed in 573 or 571 that the fall of Tyre would be a subject of lament by the whole shipping world. Every one would know that Tyre had enemies and rivals, who might be surprised into exclamations of astonishment but would rejoice at a chance of seizing an advantage. Those who shared the bitter feeling against Tyre expressed in xxvi and xxviii, probably widely felt in Judah, would know that the lament could only be uttered by Phoenicians, especially Tyrians. The verses can then either have been written by some author at a much later date under a complete misapprehension of the historical position, a result which is incompatible with the acceptance of the verses as authentic, or, if they are authentic, the lament cannot be supposed to have been uttered by the whole shipping world. Criticism must be self-consistent.

A comparison of the terms used in verses 29 and 27 has a bearing on this matter. Nearly all of them are technical, not general, vague words. The principal exception is the word קָהָל, which is used for the ship's company; it is of general import, and there may not have been a word that bore an exclusive meaning, " the crew ". There do not appear to have been general words like " sailor ", " mariner " or any other of the kind, applicable to all the different types of men working a ship, but only fairly exact descriptions of each type. The Hebrew words are: (1) חֹבְלִים, (2) שָׁטִים, (3) מַחֲזִקֵי בֶּדֶק, (4) מַלָּחִים. Renderings of these words in our versions, apart from quite modern translations, are derived from the Septuagint, and Greek words also were technical descriptions of sections in a ship's crew. The Greek should, if it is a reliable translation, correspond to the sense of the Hebrew words, not only in 27 and 29, but also in 8, 9, 26 and 34.

In verses 8, 27 and 28 חֹבְלִים is translated κυβερνῆται, " steersmen ". In verses 8 and 26, שָׁטִים is translated κωπηλάται, " oarsmen ", while in 9 and 28 the same word is used for מַלָּחִים. In 9 and 27 the מַחֲזִקֵי בִּדְקֵךְ are " those who strengthened thy council " and σύμβουλοι. Then in verse 29 these translations are abandoned. There are slight changes in the Hebrew, but nothing to warrant the alteration in the Greek translations. The חֹבְלִים are more elaborately called חֹבְלֵי הַיָּם, as if there were such men elsewhere than on the sea, which may be correct. The שָׁטִים are now called תֹּפְשֵׂי מָשׁוֹט, experts at whatever שָׁטִים did. But the Greek turns the חֹבְלִים from κυβερνῆται into πρῳρεῖς τῆς θαλάσσης; the addition " of the sea " to " the men in the bow " not only misses the point that may lie behind the Hebrew phrase but is unintelligible in Greek. The מַלָּחִים are no longer κωπηλάται but become ἐπιβάται, the soldier carried aboard. Consistency is however maintained where it is least in place; the תֹּפְשֵׂי מָשׁוֹט lost their title to expertise, and remain κωπηλάται.

We do very ill when we list these variations as characteristic of the text the Septuagint had before them and leave the matter there. When a translation which, in this book, and in this passage, normally translates on the principle of one Greek for each Hebrew word that is meaningful, suddenly changes the terms used within the space of two verses, it is a good thing to ask what happened to the translator. Those who have had to translate technical articles from one modern language into another without adequate knowledge of the jargon in each language would, I think, say that this translation was written, possibly, by one who had a literary knowledge of both languages but worked in a study, without acquaintance with ships, their working, or the men in them. But there must be some reason for the change made in verse 29; the translator found in the text there some hint that he had made a mistake in his choice of Greek words, though he did not go back and correct the earlier part of his version. In any case, the Greek of this chapter is not a sound basis for our own understanding.

The order of the words in verse 27 begins with מַלָּחִים a word used in other languages, ultimately a loan word from Sumerian; it means a boatman, whether a single man on rivercraft, or a deck-hand on larger ships. They were trained men, and on sea-going vessels they were not so numerous that they could be used, except in emergency, to work the sweeps. The second class are the חֹבְלִים. It seems to me necessary to distinguish between different uses of common words which can be applied to ships, but need not always be understood in that sense. The ropes of Isaiah xxxiii, 23, even though associated with תֹּרֶן there, must be tent-ropes, in accordance with verse 20, and with the meaning of נֵס, which does not mean a sail, though this explanation has been given to suit a particular interpretation. Verse 21 is explicit in stating that no sea-going vessel, אֳנִי־שַׁיִט, not even a large river boat, צִי אַדִּיר, shall trouble the future peace of Jerusalem; this precludes the transference of the terms from the land significance to their use in connection with Mediterranean vessels. The meaning of חֹבְלִים, originally "men working ropes", in connection with sea vessels should be decided by the description of the skipper in Jonah, i, 6, רַב הַחֹבֵל, chief navigator; it is to be connected with תַּחְבֻּלָה, used metaphorically of "guidance", "direction", which seems to arise from the sense "piloting". The חֹבְלִים were, then, the section of the crew which was directly under the navigator responsible for directing the course and for the rigging. The מַחֲזִקֵי בֶּדֶק, "the strengtheners of the fissure", were the repair squad; the Greek translation is simply a mistake, and it arose from verse 9, which states that the bearded men of Byblos, that is the experienced sailors of a famous ship-building port, and her wise men, that is the most experienced craftsmen, acted in this capacity in the ship Tyre. Finally, there is mention of two classes not concerned with the working of the ship, the merchants and the men of battle, the ἐπιβάται. These could not be omitted from the figure of the ship because Tyre had the two aspects that many ships had; it was strong in war at sea, and strong in peace because of its trade. The order given in verse 27 is not, it should be admitted, far from that which we should expect for the circumstances. If the deck hands went first, that should be due to their job with the small boats. The men in the bow would be thrown, if they were at their posts, and picked up. The soldiers leave last. The rowers are not mentioned at all. The masses of the population stayed in Tyre.

Verse 29 concerns the order of landing, because that is what וְיָרְדוּ should mean, and it was effected from small boats. The first men out were the תֹּפְשֵׂי מָשׁוֹט, and the fact that the Hebrew phrase has been substituted for the single word שָׁטִים is of interest. Brown-Driver-Briggs accepted a simple equivalence of מָשׁוֹט with the word מִשּׁוֹט which occurs in the plural in verse 6, where the objects are said to be made from the אַלּוֹן tree. The mere fact that the Massoretes pointed the two words differently should prove that there was a known distinction. The appearance of the two words in the same chapter seems to indicate that these words belong to two well-known grammatical types, מִשּׁוֹט the name of an instrument, מָשׁוֹט the name of the place for a certain activity, the paroxytone lengthened. The difficulty lies in the root. The Septuagint translation has, I suppose, been the overruling reason for accepting the meaning "to row". There is no point of comparison between a whip or scourge and an oar, and the proposal to see in rowing a whipping of the water seems far-fetched. The two steering-poles were really drags, working in the opposite direction to the oars, in order to correct the course. Small boats needed these drags as much as great ships, and in a small boat one man, standing at the high end of the stern, probably on a plank, could work them. Each small boat in a large ship would have its appointed steersmen, probably chosen from the deck-hands. That I believe explains the order in verse 29. It is normal in beaching a small boat for the steersman to jump out first.

The שָׁטִים of verses 8 and 26 would then be the section of the crew under the direction of the steering officer in the stern of the great ship. In 26 the Hebrew can be literally translated "in much water (in high water?) your שָׁטִים caused you to go". Oars were not used in galleys in a squall or storm; the ship was allowed to run, with such guidance as the steering poles could give, and in the open sea ships were driven great distances from their course. The Septuagint translated the verb by ἦγον, not peculiarly appropriate to ships, which can only mean "led", "directed", here, as a general leads an army. Both the Hebrew, if the full sense is given to the causative form, and the Greek amount to "steered". These men were not κωπηλάται but were under the κυβερνήτης. The distinction between the officers in the bow and those in the stern is drawn clearly in verse 8. There the Septuagint has; "And your governors dwelling in Sidon and Arvad were your oarsmen; your wise men in you, Tyre, were your κυβερνῆται". There is nothing about governors in the Hebrew text; it has accordingly been said that this rendering presupposes a different text, beginning "*and your princes*" וּנְשִׂיאַיִךְ. It is more probable that it is due to a misunderstanding. Neither Sidon nor Arvad were abject subjects of Tyre. In the Phoenician alliance Tyre could reserve the supreme command, but the other two cities could, and did, act independently; Arvad, particularly, was throughout the Hellenistic period a free city, and all that is known of its earlier history shows that the island governed itself. The Tyrian governors were probably introduced to account for men of Sidon and Arvad acting as rowers; the Greek text thus changes the sense. Even governors were called on, so great was the emergency. When the translation was made, some readers of Greek may have believed that. But the Hebrew is clear. Citizens of Sidon and Arvad, free allies, served in an important office, at the stern of the ship, but only Tyrians were the supreme command in the bow. In verse 29 the allies were probably included among the experts in the stern; the order is again natural, the men who steered the boats, the high command, the Tyrian sailors.

Between the two events, the fall into the sea and the landing from boats, comes a link, verse 28, still unintelligible. The Septuagint tried to make sense by omitting the uncertain word and translated ungrammatically. The Massoretic pointing is that of the plural of a word meaning " common land ". It seems questionable whether common land could be made to quake by shouts even in a figure of speech; in this particular figure, the clause has no reasonable application. What seems to be required, by the sense, is a statement that boats pulled away from the ship after picking up men, shook and shivered as rowers strained under the direction of the officers. One suspects that a new pointing of the doubtful word is required.

Whatever critical view may be taken of the Hebrew text, anyone hearing the words of verses 27 and 29, even only those left after excisions, would assume that the acts of mourning, 30–31, were those of the Tyrians landed on a shore not controlled by the Babylonians, and that the lament was uttered by them, 32–34 (35–36 cannot be part of a lament; it is the prophet's comment). The words must be judged, not by what they can be thought to have been in intention, in an ideal original, but by the immediate sense conveyed to an audience. If to this is added the need to understand what the elaborate figure in chapter xxvii meant when applied to Tyre in 573 or 571, some critical effort must be spent on the attempt to deduce from the words the circumstances in Tyre.

The island, like the ship, was lying isolated for a long period during the siege on the mainland side; there was only access by sea. It was by sea that food and reinforcements came. Whence came the food and reinforcements ? Some of the Phoenician cities may have supplied men; they were not in a position to supply much food, for the Babylonians by then controlled the agricultural inland. The main source for that must have been Egypt, the storehouse of grain in the eastern Mediterranean; and if food came thence, Egypt would send soldiers too. Apries succeeded Psammetichus in 588, and died in 569. He is said to have led an army against Sidon and to have fought a battle at sea against Tyre. The sources, Herodotus ii, 161, and Jeremiah, xxxvii, 5, do not permit any exactitude as to date, but it can safely be concluded that both campaigns preceded the fall of Jerusalem in 587. The aim of the campaigns can hardly be doubted; the Phoenicians were always ready to buy off a suzerain power on the mainland, from Assyrian times onward. But they were never willing, except under duress, to oppose Egypt. Ezekiel xxvi implies that Tyre was considered to have favoured the Babylonians. The Egyptians continually fomented resistance to the Asiatic suzerain, even when not willing to lend active assistance. Hence the move of Apries against the two great ports, a sharp reminder of her power over them. Before 585 Tyre had to decide on an alliance with either Egypt or Babylonia and chose Egypt. Then the siege began. The steersmen, under direction, had run the ship into high water.

In the prose passage, verse 10, we read words that can be applied directly to the position existing during the siege. " Persia and Lud and Put were in thine army, thy men of war." The ἐπιβάται on the ship, the garrison in Tyre, included, according to this account, men from Lud and Put. The first land mentioned, Persia, might incline us to delete the whole verse as an anachronism, written after the time of Cambyses. There was no siege of Tyre before that by Alexander when Persians would be in the Tyrian garrison. But if the verse was written about Alexander's siege, Lud and Put would be out of place. The first word, Persia, must have been added at a late date by someone who thought the chapter applied, or wished it to apply, to the Macedonian siege. Egypt regularly employed Carian mercenaries, Herodotus, ii, 152, 154, and Lud must refer to such mercenaries. Put has nothing to do with the African, or (less probably) the South Arabian, land called by the Egyptians Punt. It is, on chronological grounds alone, to be connected with the *Puṭu-Yaman* with which Nebuchadrezzar had to do in his war with Amasis, the successor of Apries, in 568. The *putaya* of the inscriptions of Darius I have been discussed by Dr. Posener, *La première Domination perse en Égypte*, pp. 70, 186; he concludes that the Egyptian equivalent is the old name of Libya, or rather the western edge of the Delta in the possession of a Libyan tribe. Nebuchadrezzar met them in the eastward extension of Egypt up to the Palestinian border, in the province called in South Arabian inscriptions *Ma'in Muṣrān*, north of Nejran, and adjoining the Palestinian border. The terminology, then, is that of the sixth century B.C. To my mind verse 10 proves that Egyptian mercenaries were in the garrison of Tyre, unless we reject chapter xxvii as not a historical source. There is no evidence to justify such rejection.

Eastern states did not undertake wars without justification. The Assyrians, badly slandered by Byron, and now commonly cited in clichés as typical Oriental aggressors, were punctilious in finding some cause for war. So were the Babylonians. The immediate cause of wars between great powers was nearly always interference in territory one power claimed as subject, or assistance given to some enemy. When Tyre had fallen, Ezekiel, or some other, regarded the invasion of Egypt as certain, and by Egypt must be understood territory ruled by Egypt, not Egypt as we define it today.

In xxix, 20, the words mean that by invading Egypt, as he did in 568, Nebuchadrezzar would find for his soldiers, bald after years of service in the siege of Tyre, their shoulders still sore, treasure they had expected to find in Tyre, but did not. An audience which heard chapter xxvii, and chapter xxix, 18–20, as they stand (granted the omission of Persia), was in a position to correlate actual events, and current estimates of future probabilities, with the words: we are not in a position to do that, and it is the more important therefore that in dealing with passages that seem to be direct, contemporary, utterances about political events, opinion about what is *a priori* probable and improbable should be restrained, and itself subjected to constant criticism. Professor Thomas recently wrote these words:—

> " It is perhaps well that we should be reminded from time to time that the work of the textual critic and Semitic philologist is fundamental to our studies. Without firm bases achieved along these lines of study, sound exegesis of the Old Testament is not to be attained."
>
> (*Journal of Jewish Studies*, vol. III.)

To which I may be allowed to add that we are not justified, because we cannot, in the absence of other sources, relate the elaborate metaphor of the ship at every point to events as an audience of the time would know them, in cutting such a *tour-de-force* into tatters.

THE ORIGINS OF AGRICULTURAL FEUDALISM IN THE HOLY LAND

By EMILE MARMORSTEIN.

THE word " metayage " indicates a system by means of which land is cultivated for a proprietor by an agricultural worker, who receives a share of the produce. Usually, the proprietor makes some contribution in the form of either water, cattle, seed or implements. This system appears never to have existed in this country and there is consequently no English word for it, but it has existed in many other parts of the world and in the Middle and Far East it is largely responsible for one of the gravest social and political problems of our time. The only piece of direct biblical evidence on the subject is to be found in the story of the famine in Egypt. Joseph purchased all the cattle and beasts of burden of the country on behalf of the King in exchange for food and finally acquired the land and services of all Egyptian landowners apart from the priesthood. He then provided them with seed with which to cultivate their holdings on condition that one-fifth of the produce should go to the King. (Gen. 47.15–26.) There is no direct evidence in the Old Testament as to the prevalence of a system of this kind in Palestine, but this paper will attempt to show that a study of the class-relationship between the patrician families and the peasants who tilled the soil indicates an economic relationship of the metayage type.

Allied with the question of the class structure of the country is the transition from the nomadic life to the settled agricultural life. One of the earliest pieces of literary evidence for antagonism between nomad and cultivator is the story of Cain and Abel, the former a cultivator and the latter a shepherd (Gen. 6.3–10). A remarkable aspect of the narrative is that while it is normal on the evidence of history to regard nomads as aggressors and the settled population as peaceful and intent only on the lawful defence of their means of livelihood, the biblical story takes the opposite view. Admiration for their own nomadic ancestors was reflected in the historical-religious life of the people of Israel. The landowner, when bringing the first fruit of his land to the priest, had to make a declaration to the effect that his ancestor had been a wanderer, whose small tribe had become a great and powerful nation (Deuteronomy 26.5). The prophets—particularly Isaiah—sometimes seemed to be contrasting the purity of Israel's wanderings in the desert with the corruption of settled life. It is, therefore, not surprising that many traces of nomadic customs, institutions, and ways of thought and speech should have survived after a process of adaptation to the framework of a settled agricultural society. According to Professor Albright, the Israelite tribesmen differed from other invaders only in the speed with which they settled down. Israelite patrician families, for example, are known to have taken over Canaanite patrician houses in Bethel and Tel Beit Mirsim. " They kept the old ground plan with little change, but the mode of construction and details of the resulting plan were as different as the inventory of the house." (*The Archaeology of Palestine*, p. 119.) In later times it was held to be a religious duty for every Jew to feel as if he himself had gone forth from Egypt (Mishna, Pesahim ch. 10.5). In general the role played by the Exodus in the religious life of Israel tended to foster consciousness of the nomadic way of life and this tendency was reinforced by or even resulted in a peculiarly nomadic religious approach to the world, which was pictured as one large grazing area where human beings are nomads without rights or claims but live on the bounty of a divine patron and are subject to his laws and judgement. (Ps. 39.13: 119.9: 1 Chronicles 29.15.)

The reason for this prejudice is to be found in the relations between the classes in Palestine from the conquest to the destruction of the First Temple. Pride in descent from the ruling class is natural and as the rulers claimed descent from the conquering tribes, it is hardly to be expected that anyone would boast of his descent from the conquered cultivators of the soil. (In our own times one notices that Arabic-speaking town-dwellers and cultivators prefer to trace their descent from the invading tribes of the Arab conquest rather than from the original inhabitants.) This assumption is supported by the evidence regarding the status, functions, rights and obligations of the *gēr*, the " sojourner " of the Authorised Version. As a result of Alfred Bertholet's monumental work on the subject (" *Die Stellung der Israeliten und der Juden zu den Fremden* " Freiburg i. B 1896), the term " *gēr* " is generally held to denote a resident alien settled for a longer or shorter period under the protection of a citizen or family or of the state comparable to the μέτοικος in Athens or the *peregrinus* in Rome. These strangers, according to Bertholet, were descendants of the mixed multitude which came out of Egypt with the Israelites (Exodus 12.38), or of the conquered peoples of the country; or of deserters from caravans making their way along the great international trade routes of the time. He also ventures to develop a theory of a clash of interests between the Kings of Israel and Judah and the peasant proprietors on the subject of the rights of these *gērim*, with the former encouraging foreign immigration and the latter resisting it. He supports this theory by quoting examples of royal favour towards Jews in Europe in Mediaeval and modern times. " Das gilt ganz allgemein und hat sich später gerade auch den Juden gegenüber bewahrheitet " (pp. 19–21 and 30–31). Bertholet's conclusions may be criticized on three main grounds. In the first place, he does not appear to have attached sufficient importance to the *gēr's* position as a member of the community of Israel. Secondly, the testimony of archaeology to the poverty of Palestine and the fact that the amount of gold and silver excavated in Israelite strata is disproportionately small compared with Canaanite strata or with contemporary Syria, Egypt or Mesopotamia hardly suggests a country likely to attract large groups of immigrants. Thirdly, his analogies from Greece and Rome do not appear to fit into the pattern of the transition from the pastoral to the agricultural life. The institutions, which he quotes represent the orderly arrangements of a settled society rather than the result of the impact of the invasion of settled territory by tribesmen unused to high standards of material prosperity.

I propose, therefore, to divide the traditions dealing with the *gēr* in the nomadic stage, from those bearing on this institution in later stages with a view to demonstrating its adaptation to agricultural conditions. Old Testament narratives of the wanderings of the Patriarchs show that the *gēr* had a recognized status. He was an individual, possibly the head of a tribal family who had left the main body of the tribe and lived under the protection of the ruler of a state, the head of another tribe or sub-section of a tribe or the notables of a town. From the experience of Lot in Sodom, one gathers that he was not to be expected to assume a position of authority (Gen. 19.19) but the deferential treatment of Abraham by the notables of Hebron and others suggests that the *gēr*'s personal qualities and wealth might gain for him a certain prestige and esteem (Gen. 23.24). There are also indications in this passage that the *gēr* was entitled to purchase land on a permanent basis only with the consent of the ruler or persons of authority of the place (cf. Gen. 23.24, and the attitude of Abimelech, King of the Philistines, towards the digging of wells (Gen. 21.23)). It appears to have been understood that the *gēr* was expected to work for his protector and to receive some reward for his services in the form of a fair share of the increase of the cattle of produce (cf. Jacob's impassioned complaint to Laban (Gen. 31.38–42). He was also supposed to support his patron in battle against his enemies and was entitled to his fair share of any booty acquired in the course of such encounters (Gen. 14.21–24). His patron had no right to cheat him or to prevent him from leaving with his property whenever he felt like continuing his wanderings. From the point of view of nomad custom, the Egyptians behaved incorrectly in subjecting their *gērim* to forced labour and in preventing them from leaving while the latter were justified in spoiling the Egyptians to compensate for their labour (Ex. 3.23). These three principles of protection, work and a fair share of the proceeds correspond roughly with the system of the *jar* (جار), the Arabic equivalent of the *gēr*, in the life of Arab nomads from pre-Islamic times onwards (see W. Robertson Smith, "*Kinship and Marriage in Arabia*", pp. 42 and 142, and "*Religion of the Semites*", p. 75; Kohler, "*Über das vorislamitische Recht der Araber*". Zeitschrift für vergl. Rechtswissenschaft VIII, p. 251).

After the conquest, these three principles were retained but they were transformed. From being a transient visitor to richer pastures, the *gēr* became a part of the community. *Gērim* are within the "gates", the "camp" or the "midst" of individual Israelites and, judging from the abundance of references to them in the Pentateuch, they must have been numerous enough to render it necessary for them to be included in the scope of legislation on a large variety of subjects. The number of *gērim* conscripted for work on King Solomon's building operations is given as 150,000 (1 Kings 5.15 and 2 Chronicles 2.16). As it is unlikely that the country was entirely denuded of labour during this period, this figure presupposes a general impression of the existence of a large *gēr* population. In his religious life, the *gēr* is specifically included among those for whom atonement was made in communal sacrifices (Lev. 17.8; 22.18; Num. 15.14). He took part in the grand assemblies of the tribes (Deut. 29.10; Jos. 9.35). He was liable to the death penalty for blasphemy like any Israelite (Lev. 24.16) and was also forbidden to sacrifice his children to Moloch (Lev. 20.2). Should he commit accidental homicide, he could escape to the cities of refuge (Jos. 20.9). His observance of the Sabbaths (Ex. 20.10 and 23.12) and the agricultural festivals (Deut. 16.11 and 14) are connected with the relationship in which he stands towards his patron. The *gēr* must not work for his patron on the Sabbath, while the patron must enable the *gēr* to rejoice at the agricultural festivals when he himself has good reason to be happy. The *gēr* must observe the Day of Atonement (Lev. 16.29). He must not eat blood (Lev. 17.10–13). During the Passover he must not eat leaven (Ex. 12.19). Should he, however, wish to partake of the sacrifice of the paschal lamb, he must submit to circumcision, after which he can do so in exactly the same way as an ordinary Israelite (Ex. 12.48). The *gēr* was permitted to eat the flesh of animals which had been killed by wild beasts or had died from natural causes. Such flesh was forbidden to an Israelite. Consequently, if an Israelite's animal had been rendered ritually unfit to eat, he could sell it to a foreigner or give it to a *gēr*, in which latter case he could not ask for money for it (Deut. 14.21). All this corresponds roughly with the rabbinic interpretation of this institution, according to which there are two categories, the resident *gēr* (גֵּר תּוֹשָׁב) who was expected to obey the seven commandments incumbent upon the descendants of Noah, and the proselyte (גֵּר צֶדֶק), who submits to the yoke of the 613 commandments in the same way as the Jew.

There is also a certain amount of biblical support for the rabbinic tradition that the institution of the resident *gēr* was only applicable in times during which the laws relating to the jubilee year were in force (B. T. Erchin, 29a. Maimonides, *Yad Hazakah*, *Hilchot Ovde Cochavim*, Ch. 10, par. 6). These laws were concerned with the redistribution of agricultural land among the tribal families every fifty years. The *gēr*, like the Levite, did not take part in this process (Deut. 14.29). He was not allowed to own rural land. This appears to have been the only legal disqualification under which he suffered—in all other respects his legal equality with the Israelite is emphasized—and it is significant that Ezekiel prophesied a new reallotment of land in which the *gēr* would participate on an equal footing with the Israelite in the region falling to the tribe to which he is attached (Ezekiel 47.22, 23; Isaiah 14.1). The evidence suggests that a *gēr* stood in a special relationship to a rural landowner and through him to his tribe and to none else. A permanent resident on the property of an urban landowner, e.g., a priest, was known as a resident (תּוֹשָׁב) and not as a *gēr* (Lev. 22.10). The *gēr* worked for the landowner and was dependent on him. He was an agricultural worker. He shared with the family, the household slaves, and domestic animals, in the benefits of the Sabbath rest from work (Ex. 20.10; 23.12), and he is specifically included in the festivities during the two feasts with agricultural significance, Pentecost (Deut. 16.11) and Tabernacles (Deut. 16.14) and on the occasion when the landowner brought the first fruit of his newly acquired land to the altar (Deut. 26.11), but is excluded from the passage dealing with the celebration of the feast with purely historical significance, the Passover (Deut. 16.1–8). The *gēr* was entitled to certain allowances in kind from the landowner's produce. Every third year in the seven year cycle, he benefited from the distribution of the special tithe (Deut. 14.29; 26.12–13). He also had a share every year at harvest time in the produce of arable land, vineyards and olive trees (Lev. 19.10; Deut. 24.19–21). The *gēr* had no security in his work. A clear indication of his agricultural status is contained in the famous verse explaining the necessity for the redistribution of farm land every fifty years. " The land shall not be sold for ever; for the land is Mine; for ye are strangers and sojourners (גֵּרִים וְתוֹשָׁבִים) with Me " (Lev. 25.23).

On the other hand, although the *gēr* was normally connected with agriculture, he was not confined to it by law. He seemed to have had freedom to leave his patron. He could become a hired workman (Deut. 24.14), and he would then have to be paid a fixed wage day by day (Lev. 19.13; 24.15). He could become a soldier or an official of the royal court and rise to a position of authority like Uriah the Hittite, or Doeg the Edomite. He could become a man of means and purchase an improvident member of an Israelite tribal family as a slave (Lev. 25.47), but this was discouraged and the tribesman's relatives were considered obliged to buy him out of slavery (Lev. 25.48). From the use of the phrase לְעֵקֶר מִשְׁפַּחַת גֵּר " or to a descendant of a *gēr* family " in Leviticus 25.47, one rather feels that a *gēr* who abandoned agriculture as a means of livelihood was not called a *gēr* but was referred to as being of *gēr* origin. The fact that the soldier, who announced Saul's death to David, described himself not as a *gēr* but as " the son of an Amalekite *gēr* " tends to confirm this impression (2 Samuel 1.13). So does the fact that the Gibeonites, who were hewers of wood and drawers of water for the Sanctuary, are not called *gērim*. It was also possible for a member of the landowning class to be reduced by poverty to the status of a *gēr* (Lev. 25.35). In 2 Samuel 4.3, we have a concrete instance of a whole sub-section of a tribe having to abandon the land allotted to them and living as *gērim* on land belonging to another tribe. However, the *gēr* was not normally a state official or a rich man. The majority of this group belonged to the least prosperous section of the population. Their children could be purchased as slaves by Israelites (Lev. 25.45). They are linked in a large number of verses with the needy, the widow and the orphan as standing in particular need of protection. The statement that God loves the *gēr* and provides him with food and clothing, indicates their general need of divine help in these respects (Deut. 10.18). The ruling classes were exhorted to love them, to see that they get fair and equal treatment in the courts of law, to refrain from cheating them or bullying them, and to ensure that they get their fair share of the produce (Ex. 23.9; Lev. 19.33, 34; 24.22; Deut. 1.16; 10.19; 23.8; 24.14; 24.17; 27.19; Jer. 7.6; 22.3; Zech 7.10). The denunciations of the prophets and their warnings of divine retribution for ill-treatment of the *gēr* suggests that this group of agricultural workers was at the mercy of powerful and unscrupulous men and that their condition was at times pitiable. (Ezekiel 22.3; 22.29; Mal. 3.5; Ps. 94.6). Moreover they were discontented. The passage containing a warning that one consequence of disobedience of the divine commandments would be that the *gēr* would go up and up and the landowner down and down is a threat of a revolutionary upheaval (Deut. 28.13). Finally, in addition to their general poverty and defencelessness, they were liable to be conscripted for forced labour on public works. The traditions preserved in Chronicles (1 Chron. 22.3; 2 Chron. 2.16) state that both King David and King Solomon recruited *gērim* for employment on their building schemes. The word מַס for forced labour, which is used in this connection, is also used in connection with the tribute levied on conquered peoples, who were allowed to remain on their lands (Joshua 17.13). Throughout the historical books of the Old Testament, the word מַס is used for labour and the word מִנְחָה for payment in money or kind. The account of King Solomon's building plans in 1 Kings 17–22 gives an excellent description of the class structure of the time. On the one hand, we are told, there were the descendants of the former inhabitants of the country. They were subject to conscription for work on the royal architectural projects. On the other, there were the descendants of the Israelite tribes, who were exempt from labour service, but were employed by the King in positions of authority in the army and the administration. (Such a division of the rural population between one class providing officers and officials, and another of cultivators and manual labourers employed on government work is familiar over most of the Middle East today). At the same time, there was no rigid caste system. Families could decline and new families of humble origins could come into prominence. A great deal depended on the favour of princes and the patronage of influential personalities.

The *gēr* emerges from this analysis as an agricultural labourer in the service of a hereditary landowner paid with a share of his produce and dependent on the kindness of his patron. His class formed the great mass of the agricultural population. It is not surprising that the Old Testament does not define his status more precisely but provides only indirect hints at it. The historical narratives like all historical works up to comparatively recent times, were concerned mainly with the ruling classes. Only very occasionally does the "son of an Amalekite *gēr*" (2 Sam. 1.13) or some similar nebulous figure emerge trembling from the underworld of the working class.

On the basis of all this evidence, the following reconstruction of the process of conquest, settlement and development may be attempted. With the conquest, the land was distributed among the leading tribal families. Some of these clans had succeeded in storming the fortresses in their areas, and driving out the former ruling chieftains with their families. With few exceptions such as the Gibeonites (Joshua 9.3–27), the survivors consisted largely of the serfs of the former ruling families and, to judge from the attitude of Rahab towards Joshua's spies (Joshua 2), they may have welcomed the invaders. (Incidentally, according to Michael Asaf, the eminent Zionist expert on Arab questions (" *The Modern East* " Vol. 1, No. 1, October, 1949, p. 3), the vast majority of the Arabs, who stayed in their homes during the fighting in 1948, belonged to the very poorest section of Palestinian Arab society.) The other clans were unable to drive out the former inhabitants and allowed them to stay. The vanquished together with retainers and slaves who had accompanied the conquerors in their wanderings, cultivated the land while the ruling familes lived on the proceeds and occupied themselves with consolidating and extending their positions against their enemies without and sometimes from within. In course of time, the conquered more or less adopted the religion and the customs of their conquerors and became indistinguishable from them except in so far as the ruling families, the *ezraḥ* (אֶזְרָח) owned the land, while the mass of the landless peasants, who became known as *gērim* whatever their origin, cultivated it as sharecroppers. For a long period after the conquest general conditions were very poor, but with the unification of the country under the United Monarchy signs of prosperity became more evident. The age of King Solomon was, according to Professor Albright, " certainly one of the most flourishing periods of material civilization in the history of Palestine " (*Archaeology of Palestine*, p. 123). Under the influence of wealth, the ruling classes developed more expensive appetites and oppressed their *gērim* in order to obtain the amounts necessary for the maintenance of their more luxurious standard of living. The rich became richer and the poor poorer. There was grave misery among the agricultural population and the noblest men of the time threatened the ruling classes with destruction if they did not change their way of life, return to the simple faith of their desert ancestors and treat their dependents decently and humanely. Some of them, like Ezekiel, hoped for a form of society in which there would be a greater degree of social and economic equality.

Practically the same pattern can be traced in the stories of other nomadic invasions of settled territories such as those of the Arabs, the Magyars, the Ottoman Turks, and tribal conquests in Ethiopia and Somaliland during the last hundred years. It may be the normal pattern which any nomadic invasion must inevitably pursue. Its legacy to a large part of the world today consists of the system of metayage which prevents improvement of the soil, encourages under-employment and menaces the world with a revolutionary situation.

THE *GOREN* AT THE CITY GATE: JUSTICE AND THE ROYAL OFFICE IN THE UGARITIC TEXT 'AQHT

By Rev. Dr. John Gray

In a recent article in *P.E.Q.*[1] it is claimed that before denying any connection of *grn* and *'adrm* in the Ugaritic text Gordon *Ugaritic Handbook* 2 'Aqht V, 6, with " threshing-floor " in view of the usage in cognate Semitic languages, we ought to have more compelling reasons than we have adduced. The fact, however, that Ugaritic is a new factor in the Semetic field should dictate caution in the use of cognate Semitic languages. The reading of Ugaritic texts certainly compels one to keep the whole range of Semitic languages in the forefront of one's mind. Nevertheless it is just as important to bring to bear on any linguistic problem in Ugaritic the weight of *internal* evidence.

The passage in question describes how the divine craftsman " the Skilful and Percipient One " is intercepted on his journey by Dn'el as the latter

> " . . . sits at the aperture of the gate
> In the place of the notables who are in the *piazza* . . ."

> . . . *yṯb. b'ap ṯġr*
> *tḥt 'adrm. dbgrn*

Now *'adrm* as a cognate of the Aramaic אדרא " threshing-floor ", or rather " wicker fence " such as was rigged up on the leeward side of the threshing-floor in order to catch the chaff, is not attested in the Ras Shamra texts except possibly in this passage.

The word *'adr* is found in Gordon *UH* 75, II, 30, as an adjective parallel to *'rẓ*, which means " terrible ".[2] This suggests that *'adr* here means "mighty". In the administrative list Gordon *UH* 119, 4, 7, 9, 11, 18, it again occurs as an adjective in the phrase *'aṯt 'adrt*, which Gordon takes to refer to an upper-class wife as distinct from a concubine.[3] In Gordon *UH* 2 'Aqht VI, 20–23, the young hero in repulsing the demands of the goddess Anat for his composite bow replies as follows:

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[1] S. Smith, " On the meaning of *Goren* ", *P.E.Q.*, 1953, pp. 42–45. Cf. *P.E.Q.*, 1946, pp. 5–14, by the same writer. For a criticism of this article see A. Herdner, *Syria*, XXVI, 1949, p. 152. We have touched upon the question of the meaning of *goren* in our article on " Tell el Far'a by Nablus . . . ", *P.E.Q.*, 1952, p. 112.

[2] *'edm 'adr* (   ).
'edm 'rẓ (   ).

We have suggested the translation of this fragmentary passage
" A medicament mighty (   )
A potion terrible (   )."
Here the context suggests that *'edm* is a cognate of the Arabic إِدْمٌ, " a potion ". We suggest this, however, with reserve since the adjectives *'adr* and *'rẓ* are not particularly appropriate, *J.N.E.S.*, X, 1951, p. 149, and notes 41 and 42.

> *'adr ʿqbm dblbnn*
> *'adr gdm br'umm*
> *'adr qrnt byʿlm*

Here *'adr* is translated by some scholars as "I will vow". We prefer, however, to take it as an abstract noun, translating:

> "Goodliness of tendons which are in Lebanon,
> Goodliness of sinews in the wild-oxen,
> Goodliness of horns on the mountain-goats".

Thus such internal evidence as there is never supports the meaning "threshing-floors" or the "wicker screens" thereof for *'adrm* in Gordon, *UH* 2 'Aqht V, 6, but consistently supports our view that in *'adrm* we have "the notables", cf. אדרנים of the Punic text Slouschz אוצר הכתובות הפניקיות, 1942, 137, 5.

It is hard to understand why one should freely admit the sense of *tḥt* as "in the physical place of" when the preposition is used in Hebrew with pronominal suffixes, and yet hesitate to take the preposition in this sense when it is used with a noun instead of a pronominal suffix. In view of the Hebrew usage where it means "in one's place", as in Exodus xvi, 29, Joshua v, 8, vi, 5, I Samuel xiv, 9, or even "instead of", as in Genesis ii, 18, iv, 25, etc., and in the formula in the royal annals (I Kings viii, 20, etc.), it is surely hidebound literalism to insist on translating *tḥt* in the 'Aqht passage as "under". "Under the wicker screens" hardly recommends itself and "under the threshing-floor" is plain nonsense. To revert to the internal evidence of the Ras Shamra texts the passage I 'Aqht, 115–116, clearly indicates that *tḥt* bore another meaning than "under". There Dn'el brings down vultures which fall *tḥt pʿnh.* This cannot mean "under his feet", but obviously "at his feet".

There is, of course, no cogency in the objection that our "in the place of the notables" could not mean in the public gate but only their homes or an assembly-hall. Surely the establishment of judgment within the gate so frequently referred to in the Old Testament was literally a public transaction in the actual gate just as the Book of Ruth indicates.

We admit that charity to widows and orphans was a prior charge on the community, as it still is. This charity in kind, however, among the ancient Hebrews and the Syrian peasants of the present day is normally left in the field, vineyard, or orchard[4], and is not usually taken out of what is

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[3] Gordon *UH*, 1947, p. 208.

[4] Leviticus xix, 9, xxiii, 22, Deuteronomy xxiv, 19 ff.

brought to the threshing-floor.[5] In the primitive Semitic community, however, widows and orphans had regular rights beyond charity, as the cases of Tamar (Genesis xxxviii) and Ruth clearly indicate. Again, when it is said of Dn'el *ydn dn 'almnt*
yṯpṭ ṯpṭ ytm
there is absolutely nothing in the language to suggest that charity rather than justice is dispensed. Moreover in the reference cited in II Kings vi, 27, גורן and יקב clearly denote the contents of the threshing-floor and vat rather than the place where the needy persons ought to apply for relief. In the first reference to this activity of Dn'el he happens to be so engaged when his divine guest appears. What the writer wishes to convey is that Dn'el was about his regular daily duties, and, we should add, his royal functions. This is indicated by the reference in the Krt text. When Krt's son upbraids his father that he is no longer fit to rule he says

ltdn dn 'almnt
ltṯpṭ ṯpṭ qṣr npš. (Gordon *UH* 127, 45–47.)

In the second case, which is somewhat more doubtful owing to the condition of the text, Dn'el is engaged as described when the vultures, which indicate manslaughter and consequent drought, are sighted. The motive for introducing Dn'el's judicial activity seems to be to emphasize that the drought is not the result of any omission of justice on the part of Dn'el, but is the consequence of the murder of 'Aqht.

The scene of the judicial functions of Dn'el is the *grn*, which normally in the Old Testament and once certainly in the Ras Shamra texts (Gordon, *UH*, 121, II, 6, 9) means " threshing-floor ". To anyone familiar with the East the threshing-floor, of course, is known as the scene of rites at the crises of life such as weddings, funerals, and circumcision, etc., and is the scene of prayer and incantation when the grain and summer-fruits are finally " gathered in " to permanent storage.[6] In the Old Testament too there is reference to the threshing-floor as a sacred locality. In Hosea ix, 2, it was the scene of prostitution (probably ritual), a custom which may lie behind the incident in the Book of Ruth. The *goren* again is mentioned in connection with the mourning-rites for Joseph (Genesis 1, 10) and with David's restoration of the Ark (II Samuel vi, 6)[7], and, of course, there is the threshing-floor of Araunah (II Samuel xxiv, 16 ff.), which was probably already a sacred place before David acquired it. In the case of Dn'el's discharge of his judicial functions a threshing-floor as a sacred area would be quite appropriate, since revelation might be expected in such a place. Thus there is nothing against taking the word in the Ugaritic passage in question as meaning " threshing-floor " which, as a large open place and one calculated to catch the prevailing breeze, would, apart from its sanctity, be a suitable place for a public gathering.

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[5] In the Talmud five ways of dispensing this charity are distinguished. A corner (פאה) of the field or orchard amounting to $\frac{1}{60}$ of the whole might be left (Pea I, 2 ff.), the right to glean (לקט) during harvest was admitted (Pea IV, 10), or to pick up the fruit that fell during picking (פרט), or to gather what had been forgotten (שכחה) during harvest (Pea, V, 7–VI, 11), or to gather grapes which had been unripe at the time of gathering (עללת) (Pea VII, 4–8). Besides this there was a levy of $\frac{1}{10}$ every three years for the poor and the Levites (Deuteronomy xiv, 28 ff., xxvi, 12 ff.). See further on this subject. Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*, I, 2, 1928, pp. 585 ff. The dispensation of charity in the Near East has been complicated for the anthropologist by the statutory levy of alms demanded by Islam.

[6] An excellent study of the sacral significance of the threshing-floor is found in Wensinck's *Some Semitic Rites of Mourning and Religion*, 1917.

Yet the lexical evidence cited by the authorities of Professor Sidney Smith simply serves to demonstrate our point that " threshing-floor " is not the primary Arabic meaning of *grn*. The verbal root جرن means " to rub ", either to fray, to grind or thresh corn, or to bray medicine in a mortar, a sense, incidentally, in which the verb *grn* is used in the veterinary text, Gordon *UH* 55, 10. The Arabic مجرن might mean the place inside the gate which was worn smooth by public concourse: cf. Qamus II, ألجارون, " the worn track ". In the Syrian Christian communities the word مجرن is familiar as referring to the baptismal font, مجرن المعمودية. If this, as one of Professor Smith's Arabic authorities suggests, is a Syriac loanword, it carries us back behind the Arabic evidence and may possibly open up the question of a different root, which would lead us to take *grn* in the 'Aqht passage as " hollow depression ", the idea which dominated our thinking in our note on that passage. It is, however, difficult to see a different root meaning from that given, namely, " to rub ". In so far as مجرن means a " hollow font ", that is because it is " rubbed out ", as a mortar. Though we prefer to think of *grn* in the 'Aqht text as a space rubbed and thus kept clear by public concourse, it is still possible that we have a case of secondary derivation, the open space inside the city gate in contrast with the surrounding buildings being thought of as resembling a hollow mortar, just as a certain quarter of ancient Jerusalem was called המכתש, " the Mortar ".

Actually the Rabbis were prepared to accept גורן in another sense than " threshing-floor ". In Midrash Rabbah, Leviticus sect. 11, we read " in the future the Holy One Blessed be He will sit on a גורן and the just will sit before him, as is written ' the King of Israel and Jehoshaphat King of Judah sat each on his throne clad in their robes on the גורן." And how were they sitting on the גורן? It was not a threshing-floor, but that of which we are instructed in Sanhedrin." Then follows a citation from Mishnah Sanhedrin IV, 3. " The Sanhedrin was as a semi-circular area." A similar passage referring also to this passage in Sanhedrin is Midrash Rabbah, Exodus sect. 5. Again there is a reference to the incident at the gate of Samaria, this time citing the parallel version in II Chronicles xviii. Here, of course, there might be a case of secondary derivation, the smooth, flat, circular or semi-circular area round which the court sat suggesting the aspect of a threshing-floor, which was, of course, circular. The first passage we have cited, however, does indicate that the rabbis were familiar with a different meaning than " threshing-floor " for גרן.

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[7] In these two cases it is possible that the word *goren* may have the general rather than the specific meaning.

In view of the association of *grn* and *'ap ṯġr* in the Ugaritic text, the passage in Kings is certainly remarkable. Here, however, it should be noted that the Hebrew text is not above suspicion. The LXX does not translate גרן, which might in fact be a dittograph of the last three letters of the previous word בגד(י)ם, with corruption of ד/ר and מ/ן when the text was still written in the proto-Hebraic script. This does not explain גרן in the parallel passage in II Chronicles xviii, 9, where the word is separated from בגדים by the participle וישבים. Here the LXX renders בגרן by ἐν τῷ ἐυρυχώρῳ, which does not mean " on the threshing-floor ", but " in the open space ".

As to the objection that our view of the scene described in I Kings xxii, 10, implies that there was only one gate at Samaria in Israelite times, that carries little weight, though we freely admit that the evidence as it is does not strengthen our own case. Crowfoot's plan of ancient Samaria[8] does, to be sure, visualize the possibility of one other gate apart from that which we have noted on the south-west of the city, but that is still a matter of conjecture. The walls and gates are Roman, and though they may have followed the line of earlier Israelite fortifications, that is yet to be demonstrated. Actually from the grammatical point of view שער שמרון of I Kings xxii, 10, can mean only " *the* gate of Samaria ".

The objection to our statement that Dn'el was an ancient king as " misleading " and " interpretation, possibly justifiable, but not a proved truth ", suggests a rather superficial acquaintance with the Ugaritic text. In the passage describing the curse upon the localities adjacent to the scene of 'Aqht's murder (Gordon *UH* 1 Aqht 152) the first curse is pronounced by the king *mlk*. It is possible that this was a local king, but as there is no reference in the context to any actor other than Dn'el, the king in question is most probably himself, as most Ugaritic specialists admit.[9] Furthermore, in presenting Dn'el's case to El Baal petitions that Dn'el

> " . . . may have a son in his house, (*bth*)
> A scion in the midst of his palace (*hklh*) "
> (Gordon *UH* 2 'Aqht I, 26–27).

After his period of ritual service and incubation in the temple it is said

> " Dn'el reaches his house ; (*bth*)
> Dn'el lights down at his palace (*hklh*) ".
> (Gordon *UH* 2 'Aqht II, 24–25.)

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[8] J. W. Crowfoot, *Samaria-Sebaste* I, 1942, Pl. I.

[9] E.g., Virolleaud, *La Légende phénicienne de Danel*, 1936, pp. 166. Gordon *Ugaritic Literature*, 1949, p. 84; Ginsberg, *B.A.S.O.R.*, 97, 1945, pp. 4 n. ; Gaster, *Thespis*, 1950, p. 302.

It might still be objected that both *bt* and *hkl* might mean " temple " rather than " house " and " palace ", but the internal evidence of the text shows clearly that this is impossible since Dn'el is not divine but human.

If, indeed, we regard Dn'el as less than a king not only do we ignore the evidence just cited, but the epic style of the poem degenerates to the mock-heroic. It is not easy to declare the main purport of the poem. We believe that in the progress from oral transmission to the finished literary production now before us there were many accretions and the text thus growing served many functions in the primitive community. If we would single out any one theme above another it is that of the influence of Dn'el and his son 'Aqht in the seasonal crises of harvest and in the Sabbatical Year, the period—perhaps fictitiously of seven years—of famine. The influence of the ancient king over fertility of nature and his unique function in seasonal crises is too well known to anthropology to require further comment. This rôle which Dn'el undoubtedly fills in the text seems to us to explain one of his stock epithets *mt rp'e*, which we render " Dispenser of Fertility ".[10] This function devolved also upon King Krt, who is acclaimed as greatly exalted

> " Among the Dispensers of Fertility of the land " (*btk rp'e 'arṣ*).

In view of such evidence, to regard Dn'el as other than a king seems to us to ignore plain evidence and to miss the whole point of many vital passages in this most interesting text.

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[10] We have worked out this theme in " The Rephaim ", *P.E.Q.*, 1949, pp. 127-139, and " DTN And RP,UM in Ancient Ugarit ", *P.E.Q.*, 1952, pp. 39-41.

THE BEGINNING OF CIVILIZATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

By John Waechter

Any marked change in the way of life of a people is of considerable importance, and in many cases the effects are far reaching. There are many instances of such change, but what is perhaps the most important of them all is often forgotten because it took place so long ago. This change did not affect one people, but the whole of mankind and formed the basis on which our present way of life is built and was the parent of all the civilizations of antiquity. There is no doubt that civilization in the broadest sense can be traced back to the beginning of the village settlement.

Even a long chronology cannot put the date of the earliest villages before about 6000 B.C. and therefore the development from these simple communities to the highly complex civilization of to-day has taken place in little more than 8,000 years. Man as a "Tool making animal" has an antiquity extending, even on a modest time scale, to some 500,000 years. If we accept these figures, why is it that there is so great a period of little progress followed by so great an acceleration? This question is of fundamental importance and prehistorians have being trying to answer it for many years, recent excavation in the Middle East, however, has done a great deal towards improving our understanding of the problem.

In its simplest form the problem falls into three parts: why was the early progress so slow, what were the steps taken during the change, and the last and perhaps the most important why was the change necessary at all?

In no area is it possible to see this transformation at work better than in the Middle East, and for this reason we will confine ourselves to Palestine, Syria and Iraq. The answer to the first question is not very difficult if we remember that the whole of cultural and intellectual progress is dependent on food supply. This may seem rather an elementary truism as indeed it is, but so closely are food and culture connected that it cannot be ignored. It is this difference in the sources of food supply that make the difference between the prehistoric peoples and their more progressive successors. During the last thirty years excavation in the Middle East has increased our knowledge of its prehistory a great deal. We are not concerned here with a detailed examination of the technological changes which have taken place, but rather with the way of life of these peoples and the effect that such a way of life had on their development.

In broad outline the prehistory of the Middle East follows fairly closely that of Europe; in both areas the technical changes and developments are rather complex, but for the sake of clarity we will divide the period into four stages. Before we examine these four stages it would be as well to see on what our evidence is based. The information we have about these people is derived almost entirely from excavations, carried out mainly since the 1914 war; a series of investigations in which the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem has played a considerable part.

Many travellers in the Middle East are familiar with the city mounds which are so much a feature of the landscape, but the sites of early man are not so easy to see, as they occur mostly in the floors of caves and as small camp sites on the edges of rivers and streams. The use by early man of caves as living sites has been of enormous value to the prehistorian because the successive occupation deposits clearly indicate the sequence of events. The material collected from an open air camp site will often yield a considerable amount of information, but much of this is limited to what was happening at one particular time, and although more than one group of people may have used the same site it is not always easy to separate them. In the cave site the situation is different, firstly because the area inside the cave is limited and secondly because one particular cave was often chosen out of several by a group because it had superior amenities; considerations which would equally apply to succeeding peoples, with the result that some caves were occupied by successive groups for a long period of time, each occupation deposit overlying that of its predecessor. Very frequently the accumulation of deposit rose to such an extent that the floor became too near the roof to make further occupation possible and the cave had to be abandoned, the tenants being forced to move to other quarters nearby. It is for this neason that where a sequence ends in one cave the continuation of the story can often be picked up in another.

Four caves in Palestine have provided us with practically the entire story, though in no one cave was it complete. All four caves are in the vicinity of Mount Carmel, three of them, Tabun, Skhul and al Wad, were excavated by Professor Garrod with a joint expedition of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem and the American School of Prehistoric Research, and the fourth, Kebareh, by Turville-Petre for the British School alone. To simplify our examination of this material we will resort to the simple fourfold division which we suggested earlier, and ignore the more detailed sub-divisions since we are concerned more with the way of life of these peoples than with slight changes in their equipment. It is obvious that we are dependent for our information as to their tools on what has survived the ravages of a considerable period of time, and for this reason much the greater part of our information is based on stone implements alone.

The equipment of the people of Stage I was comparatively simple and was dominated by one master tool; this was roughly pear-shaped and made on a block of flint, being shaped by chipping off flakes; in many cases these waste flakes, having fairly sharp edges, were used for cutting and scraping. In Stage II the emphasis was on the flakes rather than on the core, which in most cases was discarded, the flakes being further retouched to the required shape. In both these stages the number of tool types was very limited, and the same forms are repeated over and over again, though the technical skill employed was often of a high order. In Stage III the flakes of the previous stage became narrower and more blade-like and the number of tool types increased considerably. This is more than a merely technical advance and indicates that their activities were much wider; we know that they used bone tools extensively and many of the additional implements were necessary for making them and it is probable that they made considerable use of wood. In Europe during this stage painting and carving was practised widely and in France and Spain reached an astonishingly high standard, but unfortunately there is no trace of it in Palestine. The early part of Stage IV is largely a continuation of Stage III, but the implements become smaller, a feature which occurs in Europe and Africa as well as in the Middle East.

Of the people themselves we know more of some than of others. The physical type of Stage I is uncertain, though finds in England suggest that they had marked affinities with ourselves. Those of Stage II are much better known, as remains of them have been found in many parts of Europe and elsewhere. They were comparatively short, rather thick-set with heavy bones, and a marked tendency to stoop, carrying their heads thrust forward. Their foreheads sloped backwards and the lower part of their faces protruded considerably. Many anatomical features clearly distinguish them from modern man, and for this reason they have been classified into a separate group. Although their appearance and the simple convolutions of their brains indicate that they were sub-human, the implements that they manufactured were often of a very high standard. The remains of several of these people were found in the Mount Carmel caves, and, although broadly speaking they were of the same type as their European cousins, they differed from them in having certain features which were much nearer to modern man, suggesting that some inter-breeding had taken place with the people of Stage III, who are known to have been, in some places, contemporary. The physical type of Stage III was the same as ourselves, and the individual differences were more marked, indicating that possibly races were beginning to separate out.

The stone implements give us a fairly good idea of these peoples' attainments, and a study of the animal bones left in the cave deposits furnish us with a great deal of information as to what they hunted, though it is not always possible to establish what methods they used. The fauna of the Middle East was, in early prehistoric times, richer than it is to-day, and the remains from the Stage I deposits have given us the following species: Elephant, Rhinoceros, Hippopotamus, Fallow Deer, Gazelle, wild Pig, Roe Deer, Horse and wild Ox. In addition to these animals which were obviously used for food there were others such as Leopard, Hyæna, Wolf, Fox; and several of the smaller creatures such as bats, shrews and voles.

The implements of the Stage I people do not seem to have been hafted, and were probably used as a general purpose hand tool, but the finding of a pointed stake in a roughly contemporary deposit in England seems to suggest that wooden spears may well have been used, possibly with the tip hardened in the fire. It is doubtful, with the absence of any projectile such as the arrow, that any direct pursuit of game was possible, and their method of hunting was probably either by using simple traps or ambush on game trails or at water-holes. Whatever methods were used there is no question that the life of these peoples was of necessity one of considerable mobility as their food depended largely on animals which were themselves in continual movement. It is more than likely that to some extent the hunting territory was proscribed, but even so a considerable area would be required to obtain the minimum of subsistence. We are not in a position to say how large each group was nor the size of the territory over which they hunted, but judging by what we know of modern primitive peoples with a similar economy each probably consisted of a family party of not more than fifteen or twenty individuals. The size of each party would of course depend on the food available, and there was undoubtedly a fine balance between food supply and the increase of population. If however the group became too large for the food supply available, a part would have to break away and find hunting grounds elsewhere; which, though not increasing each individual group, gradually reduced the hunting areas since one area could not support more than one party.

We know that extensive movements took place in the early part of the period. The cradle of the Stage I people, as far as the available evidence shows, was Africa, and from there they spread into Europe and over most of the Middle East. The origin of the Stage II people is not yet clear, but they extended over an enormous area, as far as Africa was concerned they seem to have spread from north to south in the reverse direction to those of Stage I. The Stage III people appear to have entered the Middle East from the east, but did not reach Egypt where none of their remains have been found. Large-scale migrations seem to have stopped after the beginning of Stage III times, and from then on there is plenty of evidence to show that little outside influence came into this region during this period, and there are definite signs of purely local development which persisted well into Stage IV.

So far we have confined our analysis of the prehistoric people in the Middle East to what has been called the fertile crescent, but Syria and Transjordan deserts were also inhabited extensively, though our understanding of events in this area is not yet very clear; all four stages sent off-shoots into these deserts, but many of them seem to have developed along lines which are not exactly paralleled in the fertile crescent.

There can be no question that the wandering life and insecure food supply played a considerable part in retarding man's progress. Most of his energy was expended an obtaining the bare necessities of life, and any time not actually spent in hunting was taken up by the making and maintenance of his equipment. Sometimes, if hunting had been particularly good, there would be days of comparative ease, but such days must have been rare. The women and the younger children, though not engaged in hunting, would, no doubt, be fully occupied in gathering fruits, berries and roots; collecting fuel and preparing food and skins. From France and Spain a great deal of cave painting and bone carving has come down to us from Stage III, this might suggest some leisure, but it was most probably the older men, too old for hunting, who were responsible for it. Much of this art must have been intended for magical purposes as a great deal of it was done on the walls of dark and inaccessible parts of the caves; if this was the case then it represented an essential part of their lives and cannot be considered as being merely a voluntary product of their leisure. The carving on the bone tools, which in most cases depicts animals, must have been for the same purpose, though the high standard reached in both painting and carving suggest that a considerable amount of pleasure was obtained in the execution of it.

Patterns of thought are, without the aid of written records, impossible to understand, particularly thought dealing with the abstract. That magic played a large part in their lives seems clear from the Cave Art, but it is difficult to separate magic from religion. Nothing in prehistoric art indicates beyond doubt that man had any idea of a superior being, and on the rare occasions in which human beings are depicted participating in some ritual the suggestion is that they are medicine men or sorcerers rather than divinities. Sometimes the methods of the disposal of the dead give us some clue to a possible belief in a hereafter. In Stage I we have no such evidence, as no complete skeleton has yet been found, but in the later stages there is more information. It is still a matter of dispute as to whether the people of Stage II buried their dead with any ideas of a hereafter in view, the evidence for grave goods is far from satisfactory, but the fact that they were buried deliberately seems to be beyond question. This is a point of some importance as many primitive peoples in comparatively recent times merely abandoned their dead. In Stage III the evidence of ceremonial burial is much more extensive. Many burials have been found in which the bones had been covered with red ochre and have included personal ornaments of the deceased. This apparent care of the dead is accompanied in many cases both in Stage II and III with the practice of cannibalism, though whether this was the eating of one's enemies or ritual sacrifice of members of the group is not clear.

Such is the picture revealed by archaeological research. A savage society almost entirely occupied with the quest for food, continually on the move, either over great distances or in later times moving around a more limited hunting ground; but in either case far from static. Some progress was unquestionably made, both in technical skill and in thought, but living under such conditions it was extremely slow. Man, as we well know, came out of this rut, but what made him do so is still not fully understood. We know that in Europe there were considerable changes of climate during the period when man was in the hunting and food gathering stage, and that the alternate glacial and inter-glacial conditions must have had a marked effect on his way of life; the warm-loving animals retreated before the oncoming cold, but man did not follow them, instead he adapted himself to hunting the animals which replaced them, and his economy was not seriously endangered. That he must have made many adjustments is obvious, but even these major changes of climate were not sufficient to jolt him out of his groove. These marked changes of warm and cold did not occur in the Middle East, their place being taken by periods of wet and dry. It would not seem likely that, as man had survived the more drastic glacial-inter-glacial changes, he would have been seriously inconvenienced by apparently less rigorous climatic conditions; but it was probable that this change in climate was one of the major factors in the change of economy. We know, partly from evidence of the changing cave fauna and also from geological sources, that from the middle of Stage III onwards the climate in the Middle East was becoming increasingly drier, this evidence coming from the coastal region, not from the desert. The Gazelle, which, with the increasing aridity, had been gradually replacing the forest dwelling Fallow Deer, was itself probably becoming scarce. There are many animals which can exist in conditions of extreme cold, but few that can survive a decreasing water supply.

Under these changing conditions man had two courses open to him: he must either move elsewhere or if he were to survive where he was he must find some other means of living since the hunting and food gathering economy was becoming inadequate. To find better hunting grounds was practically impossible; if conditions in the coastal belt were becoming difficult where could he go that was not even worse? In any case there would have been other groups who were in the same position, which, with the increase of population, must have made the situation hopeless.

Towards the end of Stage IV there are signs that man was slowly adapting himself to his changing environment. At the top of the cave of el Wad were found extensive deposits of an industry which is known as Natufian, after the valley in which it was first found. In many respects it does not differ greatly from the industries which preceded it, the same broad pattern of stone implements of Stage IV type, and the same collection of animal bones, suggesting much the same way of life. There were, however, three major differences; the first was the presence of the domesticated dog, the second the use of sickles and the third was the presence of built-in features in the cave itself. The presence of the dog, except as an aid to hunting probably had little effect on the general life pattern, but it was the first time that man had come to terms with an animal, and the beginning of a relationship which was to have far reaching results. Flint sickle-blades were in constant use in later periods and extend well into the Bronze Age. They have been found in Neolithic deposits in Egypt complete with their wooden hafts. In the Natufian the sickle-hafts were made of either bone or antler, and at el Wad some of the flint blades were found in a fragment of such a haft and from Kebarah have come complete specimens. The marked lustre on the edges of the flint blades indicate that they were used for cutting corn rather than wild grasses, but there is as yet no evidence that they cultivated it. So far none of the Natufian deposits has produced hoes of any kind and thus there is no proof that the ground was broken, though the possibility of wooden hoes cannot be ruled out. Wild corn is of course indigenous to western Asia, but the elaborate work put into the making and embellishing of these hafts suggest that this source of food was important.

The third fact by which these people differ from their predecessors is the strong indication that the cave was looked upon as being a far more permanent residence than before. The base of the Natufian deposits rested directly on the rock of the terrace in front of the cave, on and in this rock platform rather elaborate features had been constructed. These consisted of basins cut into the rock, a gully also cut in the rock and a dry stone wall. Scattered over the whole of the terrace area were burials belonging to the same period. The question arises, of course, as to whether these structures were part of the domestic arrangements of the cave or served some ritual purpose. In other sites where burials of this period have been found these rock-cut basins are absent. The deposit at el Wad appears to have been a normal occupation one, with flint implements and animal bones scattered throughout, but there were no traces of a definite hearth. In spite of the presence of the burials the evidence does suggest that basins were part of the home.

If, as the evidence indicates, man's activities were becoming more restricted and hunting becoming less important, then we have a considerable advance towards a settled way of life since it was largely the hunting which kept him on the move. The seeds of the domestication of animals and possibly primitive agriculture seem to have been sown. We can however take these trends a stage further, for there is evidence of an intermediate step between the Natufian and the developed village. This evidence is provided by three sites; Karim Shahir and Jarmo in northern Iraq and the lower levels of Jericho.

The existence of the Jericho material has been known for a long time, but the recent excavations of the British School under Miss Kenyon will no doubt increase our detailed knowledge considerably. As these results are not yet published we will utilise the earlier work of Professor Garstang. Level IX of Jericho consists of a very primitive village settlement of small huts with mud walls; flint implements were still in use and there was no metal, but pottery had by this time been introduced. In the early stages of Level IX this pottery was only the clay linings of small pits cut into the earth, and it was not until later in the period that it was developed into portable vessels. Below Level IX were a series of floors, these floors were part of a house with mud walls and represent six successive reconstructions; the roof appears to have been supported by posts, the holes of which were found in the floor. The flint industry of these lower levels is the same as in the level above and it undoubtedly represents an earlier phase of the same of the same settlement as Level IX. Below these six floors were traces of Natufian, unfortunately the material from this bottom level was insufficient to show whether there had been any advance over the cave Natufian, but there is now little doubt that the Natufian developed into the industries of the higher levels.

Further evidence of this period has recently come to light in Northern Iraq where Professor Braidwood, on behalf of the Oriental Institute, has been working since the war. During this fieldwork he investigated several sites, but only two, Karim Shahir and Jarmo, concern us here. The first of these sites was an open air station, covering about two acres. The type of structure used is uncertain as only the stone floors remain, but it was probably either brush-wood or matting; associated with these floors were hearth stones, and a possible storage pit. No grain as such has yet been identified, but there were sickle-blades, hoes and stone querns, also evidence for the domestication of animals; another feature of the site was the presence of stone beads, stone braclets and two rough clay figurines. Some of the smaller flint implements suggest a close relationship with those of Stage IV in much the same way as in Palestine.

The second site, Jarmo, is of considerable interest as it forms a link between the incipient agriculture and simple structures of Karim Shahir and the developed settlements of Iraq. The houses at Jarmo consisted of simple mud walls with internal rooms and built-in ovens. The upper part of the deposit contained pottery, but it was absent in the lower levels, its place being taken by stone bowls and mud-lined pits in the floor; two kinds of wheat were found and evidence of the domestication of goat, sheep, pig and cattle.

There seems to be a very close relationship between Jarmo and the lower levels of Jericho; the same pre-pottery levels followed by pottery, the simple mud structures and the same economy, and both sites linked to an earlier stage which separates them from the purely hunting and food gathering peoples. Karim Shahir in the case of Jarmo and the Natufian in the case of Jericho, and in both the beginning of agriculture and domestication preceding the invention of pottery.

From the simple beginnings of Jericho and Jarmo the succession and development of the village goes on unbroken, culminating in the complex civilization of to-day, some eight thousand years later. The period of wandering was over.

HIGH, LOOP-HANDLED CUPS AND THE EARLY RELATIONS BETWEEN MESOPOTAMIA, PALESTINE AND EGYPT

By M. Dothan

The cups found in the excavation of the prehistoric sites in Wâdi-Ghazza were shown as the main examples of the cups with a large (or high) loop handle extending above the rim, in the Chalcolithic period in Palestine.[1] Cups of similar type were found in Egypt, and as they were thought to be of approximately the same period, served as important evidence for contacts between Palestine and Egypt at the beginning of the Chalcolithic period.[2]

In site " E ", " round based cups with more pronounced loop handles " were found, but these were only partly preserved and in the photographed examples, we see their handles only.[3] On the same plate the Egyptian form of the cup is well shown, differing from the Palestinian examples, where no rim at all is seen.[4] The excavator tells us that the bases of the cups are round; but what we really can see, could serve only as parts of " bases ". We shall show later that these rounded parts could well serve as *walls* of different vessels.

In site " O ", other " cups " were found, but their description and photographs do not differ much from those found in site " E ".[5]

While staying in London, I had the opportunity of seeing the published and unpublished " cups " of Wâdi-Ghazza in the Institute of Archaeology.[6] There is no doubt that no " cups " with round bases exist, but that from every handle the wall of a vessel begins. It can be seen from the drawings and photographs that, contrary to the Egyptian examples, the " rim " does not end near the upper part of the handle (Fig. 4 and Pl. XLVI). The upper parts being always broken, we could nevertheless recognize that the walls continued from the handle up, in approximately oblique direction. Still more, it can be seen from the drawings and photographs that the " round base " never goes up, as it should have done were it a cup, but it continues approximately in a horizontal direction. Lastly, in no case is the inner side of a vessel worked, as would be expected in a cup. It is always left rough, having a cavity in the direction of the handle's lower attachment, contrary to the Egyptian examples in which the walls of the cups slope. These three characteristics distinguish our vessels from Egyptian cups and do not allow us the proposed parallel reconstruction.

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[1] E. Macdonald, *Beth-Pelet II. Prehistoric Fara*, London, 1932, p. 7. G. E. Wright, *The Pottery of Palestine from the Earliest Times to the End of the Early Bronze Age*, New Haven, 1937, p. 28.

[2] Macdonald, *op. cit.*, p. 15. H. J. Kantor, *The Early Relations of Egypt with Asia*, *J.N.E.S.* I., pp. 176–7.

[3] Macdonald, *op. cit.*, p. 7, pl. XXIX E.

[4] Ibid, pl. XXIX, 1.

[5] Ibid, pl. XXIX, 0.

[6] I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. Childe, the Director of the Institute of Archaeology, London University, and to Dr. Kenyon, who is in charge of the Palestinian Gallery, for permitting me to study in the Institute and to publish the drawings and photographs of the W. Ghazza vessels.

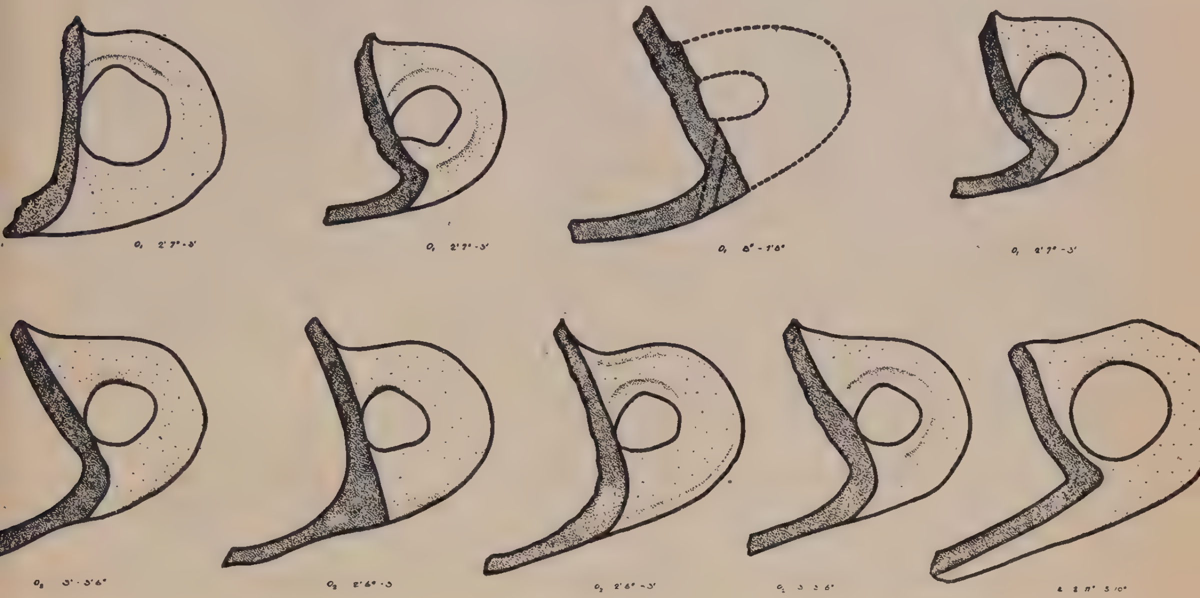

Fig. 4

It seems that the handles from Wâdi-Ghazza really belong to a type of vessel known as " bird-vase " (" *vase en forme d'oiseau* "). They are the end of one of the wings of this vessel, which appear in several forms. The walls (wings) end in a different manner and with different types of handles. We could distinguish rounded, sharp or flat walls, and the attached handles appear also in different forms of lugs and loops.[7]

The " bird vases " were found in Palestine in T. Ghassul[8], Umm Qatafa[9],

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[7] Mrs. R. Amiran of the Israel Antiquities Department kindly showed me the manuscript of her paper—meanwhile published in B.A.S.O.R. 130, pp. 11–14, on the so-called " cups " with a loop or lug handle springing from the *base* to the lower part of the body. She found that these " cups " (always broken) which occur in Ghassul, W. Ghazza and elsewhere, form, with the above discussed cups, parts of the side walls (wings) of the " bird vase ". This vessel probably served as a churn (see note 11).

[8] A. V. Mallon, R. Koeppel, R. Neuville. *Teleilat Ghassul* I, Rome, 1934, pl. 50, fig. 57, 59.

[9] R. Neuville, A. Mallon. *Les débuts de l'âge des métaux dans les grottes du désert de Judée*, Syria XII, 1931, pl. XVIII. They were thought to be cups (Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 20) but see note 7. The examples with high-looped " handles " are identical with the examples from W. Ghazza.

Farah (near Sichem)[10] and in recent years in the excavations of the Chalcolithic settlements near Tel-Aviv[11] and two sites in the Negev.[12] It seems that this vessel (churn?) belongs to one of the most popular and characteristic ceramic types in the Chalcolithic sites in Palestine. Amongst many broken vessels found in these and other Chalcolithic sites, similar to those found in Wâdi-Ghazza, not a single one could be reconstructed as a cup with a high loop handle. All of them should be reconstructed as " bird-vases ", according to the existing complete examples. (It seems that the vessel seen in Beth Pelet II, Pl. XXXIX, 19, belongs to this form of vessel too.) In conclusion, we may say that this vessel belongs to the sphere of the Ghassulian culture (to which the sites of Wâdi-Ghazza partly at least belong), in which there are no examples of " high loop handle cup " at all.

It is apparent, therefore, that this type of cup does not exist in Palestine in the early Chalcolithic period. Let us then consider those Egyptian cups, which were compared with the Palestinian, and which served as parallel material for showing the connection between the pre-Gerzean (Amratian) culture of Egypt and the early Chalcolithic (Ghassulian) of Palestine.

We have here three cups, two of them with round bases and the third with a flat one.[13] They all have a high loop handle extending above the rim. Though the form is clear, it does not mean that the dating of these three cups to the Amratian period is certain.

With regard to the first Badarian example, Petrie says: " The best fixed is that found in a settlement dated before S.D. 40 ".[14]

The second vessel comes from Diospolis Parva and it was, at first, dated by Petrie approximately S.D. 70! [15]

The third cup coated with a red slip is from Mostagedda. To these three cups, an Amratian date was given by Petrie and Brunton[16], but this early dating was criticised by another Egyptian prehistoric scholar.[17] According to Mrs. Baumgartel, the sites do not allow the acceptance of such an early date for these vessels. According to Petrie's and Brunton's view this type of cup is not at home in Egypt, and though it is rare in Western Asia, it seems to originate there, and its date agrees with Egyptian Naqada II. Therefore the date of its appearance in Egypt should be placed in the beginning of Naqada II (Gerzean).[18] It appears that this type of cup came to Egypt from Mesopotamia, though not through Palestine; and that the Palestinian and the Egyptian cups have a common source.

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[10] R. de Vaux, A. M. Stève. *La première campagne de fouilles à Tell-el-Farah, près Naplouse, R.B.*, 1947, p. 398.

[11] *A.J.A.*, LV, 1951, p. 856, fig. 7. *Ălon Mahleqeth Haătikoth*, 3, 1951, p. 30.

[12] The soundings in Abu-Rakik were made in 1952 by Mr. Perrot, and I have to thank him for showing me the excavated material.—The author has found many vessels of this type in the excavations (not yet published) on the Chalcolithic site of Kh. Bitar near Beer-Sheba, made in 1953 on behalf of the Israel Antiquities Department.

[13] F. Petrie, *Diospolis Parva*, London, 1901, pl. XIX, 70. G. Brunton, G. Caton-Thompson. *The Badarian Civilization*, London, 1928, pl. XLVI, 12; XLVII, 2. G. Brunton. *Mostagedda and the Tasian Culture*. London, 1937, pl. XXX, 112, XXIV, 19.

[14] Macdonald, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

[15] F. Petrie. *Corpus of Prehistoric Pottery and Palettes*, London, 1921. Pl. LI, 75.

It seems correct to place these three cups of uncertain date in the Gerzean (Naqada II) period; but it is hard to accept Petrie's statement, that the settlement in which the cup " with the best fixed date " was found, is before S.D. 40. From the excavator's report we know that the settlement to which the Badarian cup belonged (3000, Spur 3) was found below an 18th dynasty temple. In its vicinity lay other spurs, with material from several different periods. In the settlement, six groups of vessels were found; to twenty vessels from these groups dates were given, and sixteen amongst these were attributed to S.D. 37–46. The dates of the group where the cup in question was found are also given as S.D. 37–46.[19] It seems that we should push the date of this cup (" very strange " " African links "[20]) to the latest given limit, which is S.D. 46. The Mostagedda cup was found in the area 3900.[21] This area was not excavated and the pottery has been collected only superficially from a ploughed field which was full of sherds of different periods. From this area three vessels are mentioned: one black-topped, dated S.D. 37 (with a question mark), the second is a part of a rough and undated cooking pot (no drawing). The third is our cup, whose date has probably been fixed by the Badarian cup.

There is no need to discuss at length the Diospolis cup, because it is not connected with a pottery group of a certain date. Its early dating, after it was first dated as late, was attributed by Petrie, because of the comparison he made with the Badari cup and with the W. Ghazza vessels.[22]

It seems therefore that we cannot fix any of these cups before the Gerzean period. In the same period, but probably at a later stage, we have more examples of cups with high loop handles both in upper and in lower Egypt (Hierakonpolis and Maadi). These were used by Miss Kantor, among other vessels, as evidence of the connection between Egypt and Palestine and she believed that some of them were even imported from Palestine.[23] It is clear at any rate that even at the end of the Gerzean period these cups were not too popular in Egypt, and as is well known, vessels with handles and specially those with loop handles, were always scarce in Egypt. We may sum up by stating, that no cup with a high loop handle appears in Egypt before the Gerzean period, and its subsequent history shows evidence of import or foreign influence.

As we have already said, an attempt has been made to connect the

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[16] Brunton, Caton-Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 44, 53, 55.

[17] E. J. Baumgartel. *The Cultures of Prehistoric Egypt*, London, 1947, pp. 94–95.

[18] Cf. the short summary of predynastic cultures. H. J. Kantor, *A.J.A.*, LIII, 1949, p. 76.

[19] G. Brunton and Caton-Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 44–45.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 55.

[21] G. Brunton, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

[22] E. Macdonald, *op. cit.*, p. 15. E. Baumgartel, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

[23] *J.N.E.S.* I., p. 184.

origin of these cups in Egypt and Palestine with the appearance of similar forms in Mesopotamia.[24] To the examples adduced so far, we may now add a few more examples of cups with high loop handles. Miss Perkins gives these cups the serial number 8[25]; they have flat or round bases and belong mostly to the Warka and Protoliterate periods. They appear at the following sites in Mesopotamia and Iran: Warka[26], Jemdet-Nasr[27], Al-'Ubaid[28], Nineveh[29], Nuzi[30], Telloh[31], and Susa.[32] According to the strata where they were found, the earliest examples belong to the end of the 'Ubaid period in the south and to the Gawra period in the north; most of them, however, belong to the Warka and Protoliterate periods. These periods correspond (of course only approximately) to the Gerzean in Egypt, and to the Late Chalcolithic period and the very beginning of the Early Bronze Age in Palestine.[33]

In this same period we find the cup with the high loop handle in the "aeneolithic" cemetery of Byblos and in the "aeneolithic" beach of Ĝelâl-en-Nômoûs in Lebanon.[34]

In Palestine this cup achieves its greatest popularity in the Early Bronze Age, and has its source undoubtedly in the Late Chalcolithic period. Examples were found mostly in the mixed Late Chalcolithic–Early Bronze strata. However it seems that Wright's opinion that they were limited to the Early Bronze period no longer holds good.[35]

Miss Kantor in her article lists some examples of this ware in Palestine as parallel to the late Gerzean in Egypt.[36] The cup appears at Megiddo in stage VII and continues till stage IV; it also appears in the stratum XIX[37]. The examples from Ophel[38], Jericho[39], Tell-Nasbeh[40] are not clear stratigraphically, but it seems possible that they too belong to the end of the Chalcolithic period. It seems that the rarity of their appearance in this period is primarily due to the inadequate excavation of this period in Palestine. Indeed, in the first site where the Late Chalcolithic (" énéolithique ") stratum (settlement and cemetery) was excavated on a larger scale than before, dozens of the high-loop handles were found. In the excavations of Tell-Farah (near Sichem) a cemetery of a clearly Late Chalcolithic date was found.[41] The main ceramic finds are the vessels of " grey-burnished " ware (Wright's " Esdraelon Culture "). The cups found (mostly flat based), have a characteristic high loop handle, extending above the rim (anse surélevée).[42] We should expect that more such cups will be found when the Late Chalcolithic strata of other settlements are laid bare. In the meantime one can only say that the appearance of these cups in Palestine conforms approximately to the appearance of this form in Mesopotamia and Egypt.[43] But contrary to the unpopularity of this form in Egypt and to the relatively small distribution in Mesopotamia and Iran, we find this cup deeply rooted in Palestine, where later on it belongs to the common repertoire of Early Bronze I.

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[24] E. Baumgartel, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

[25] A. L. Perkins, *The Comparative Archaeology of Early Mesopotamia*, Chicago, 1949, fig. 12.

[26] A. Nöldeke. *Vierter vorläufiger Bericht über die von der Notgemeinschaft der deutschen Wissenschaft in Uruk-Warka unternommenen Ausgrabungen*, *A.P.A.W.*, Berlin, 1932, p. 18C. u, D. v.; 19B. h, i, k, Cc.

[27] E. Mackay. *Report on Excavations at Jemdet Nasr*, Chicago, 1931, pp. 242, 243, pl. LXIV, 21–27.

[28] H. R. Hall, C. L. Woolley, *Al-'Ubaid*, Oxford, 1927, p. 159, pl. LII, type P XVI.

[29] R. Campbell Thompson, M. E. L. Mallowan. The British Museum Excavations at Nineveh, 1931–32, *A.A.A.*, XX, pl. LI, 6, LII, 17.

[30] R. F. S. Starr, *Nuzi* I, Cambridge, Mass., 1937, 1939.

[31] H. de Genouillac. *Fouilles de Telloh I*, Paris, 1934, pl. III.

[32] R. de Mecquenem. *Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique de Perse*, Tome II, p. 103, fig. 2; XXV, p. 197, fig. 33, 2.

[33] G. E. Wright. *An Important Correlation between the Syrian and Palestinian Chalcolithic*, *B.A.S.O.R.*, 122, pp. 52–55. B. Maisler, M. Stekelis, M. Avi-Yonah, *The Excavations in Beth-Yerah*, *I.E.J.*, 1952, p. 173.

[34] M. Dunand. *Fouilles de Byblos I*, Paris, 1937, pl. CXIV, 6694, CXVII, 6695, 6696. P. E. Guignes, Lébéa, Kafer Gerr, Qoryé, *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* I, 1937, fig. 17.

[35] G. E. Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

[36] *Op. cit.*, *J.N.E.S.I.*, pp. 184–185.

[37] R. M. Engberg, G. M. Shipton. *Notes on the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age Pottery of Megiddo*, Chicago, 1934, Chart 24.

[38] H. V. *Underground Jerusalem*, London, 1911, pl. VIII, 2.

[39] E. Sellin, C. Watzinger, *Jericho*, Leipzig, 1913, pl. XXB, 2b.

[40] W. P. Badé, G. C. McCown and T. C. Wampler, *Excavations at Tell-en-Nasbeh* I, p. 70; II § 70, fig. 896, 899, 901, 902, 904.

It is difficult to answer positively the question where the cup with high looped handle originated; however it seems hardly conceivable that the spread of this strange form from Mesopotamia to Egypt could have occurred without intermediate stations.[44] It seems that the transmission was through Palestine, and took place not earlier than the Protoliterate period. The history of these cups strengthens the conclusion, drawn from the comparative archaeological material, that no real Mesopotamian or Palestinian influence was felt in Egypt before the obvious contacts between the Protoliterate culture of Mesopotamia and the Gerzean in Egypt.[45]

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[41] *La première campagne de fouilles à Tell-el-Farah près Naplouse*; *La seconde* . . . .; *La troisième* . . . . *R.B.*, 1947–1951.

[42] *Ibid.*, 1949, I; fig. 1: 11, 12, 13, 14; fig. 6: 11, 12, 13, 17; fig. 8: 18, 19; fig. 13: 9, 11, 13, 14, 17; 1951, IV, fig. 4: 8, 9; fig. 6: 13, 14; fig. 7: 6, 7, 10, 11; fig. 11: 15, 17, 18, 20.

[43] For other parallels between the Late Chalcolithic of Tell-el-Farah, Warka VI–VII and Telloh, cf. *ibid.* 1951, p. 585.

[44] This question is of importance only if we assume that this form was not invented independently in Mesopotamia and in Syria–Palestine. Anyway, it is certain that the cup is not indigenous to Egypt.

[45] H. J. Kantor. *The Final Phase of Predynastic Culture*, *J.N.E.S.* VI, 1947, p. 136. H. Frankfort. *The Birth of Civilization in the Near East*, London, 1951, p. 42–43.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

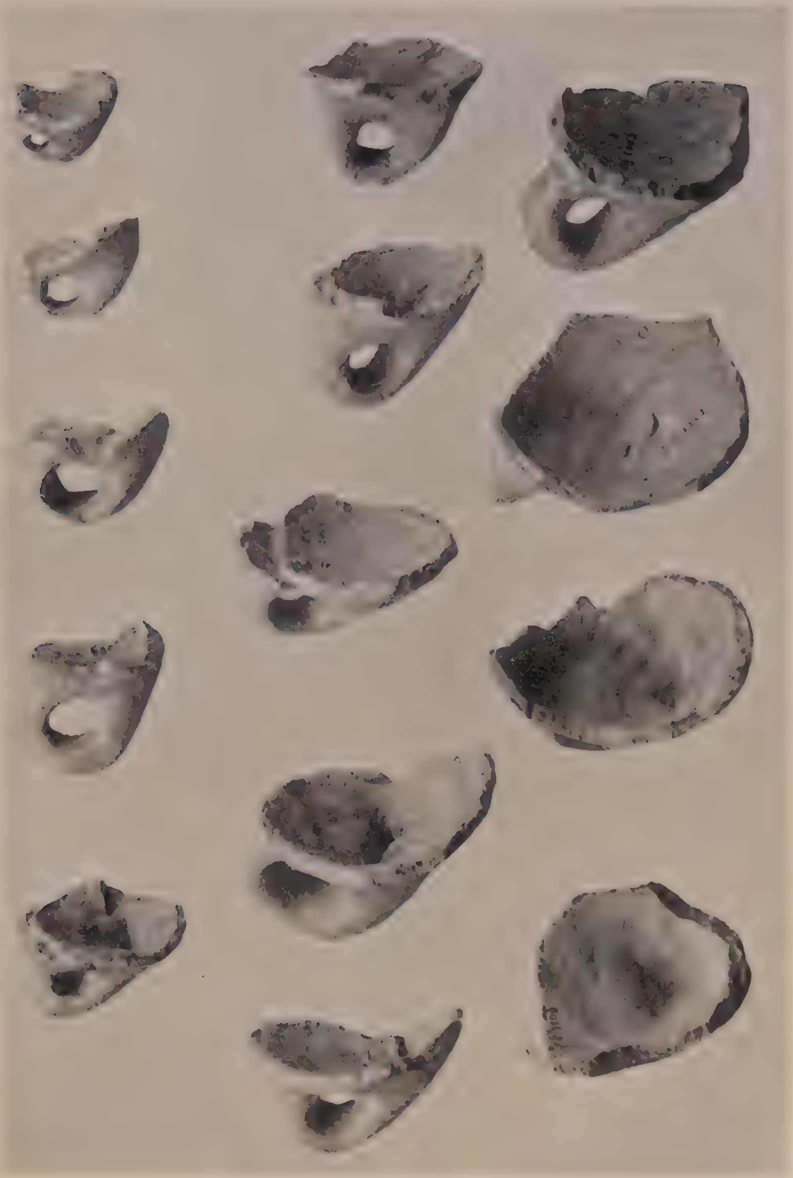
Theodor H. Gaster: *Thespis, Ritual, Myth and Drama in the Ancient Near East*, New York, 1950. pp. 496.

So much interest has recently been taken in the classification and evaluation of *patterns* in ancient *Ritual*, *Myth* and *Drama*, that the Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress for the History of Religions, held in 1950, were centred round this theme. The progress in the fields of Anthropology, Psychology, in the comparative and phenomenological study of Religion and, last but not least, in the discovery of Ancient Near Eastern Texts has brought about an intensified re-examination of the basic religious ideas which underlie the earliest literary manifestations of mankind.

Professor Gaster's *Thespis* furnishes us with the latest and most comprehensive attempt of this kind. Early Canaanite, Hittite, Egyptian, Hebrew and Greek texts are perused and—with the exception of Egyptian material—independently translated by the author. His book is the result of twelve years' labour and many of his smaller studies have preceded his present endeavour to solve a difficult problem which besets all those who concern themselves with the original purpose and meaning of Ancient Near Eastern Literature.

With some allowances for attenuation, incompleteness or incomprehensibility of our sources Gaster discerns certain recurring patterns in all relevant mythical and dramatic texts which he traces back to the following annual rites, according to him almost universally attested in the ancient world. 1. *Rites of Mortification*, exemplified by fasts and other austerities, symbolizing the state of suspended animation which ensues at the end of each year. 2. *Rites of Purgation*, whereby the community seeks to rid itself of physical and moral noxiousness. They include the purification of temples and sacred vessels. 3. *Rites of Invigoration*, whereby the people attempt to procure a new lease of life. Mass matings accompany magical procedures designed to promote fertility. Ritual combats or mimetic battles take place between various gods expressing the struggle between life and death, summer and winter, old year and new. 4. *Rites of Jubilation*, which bespeak man's sense of relief, when the harvest has been assured and the new year has indeed begun.

Two other elements are often connected with the annually recurring ritual: The *Return of the Dead* at seasonal festivals, being of concern to the actual and present as well as to the ideal and durative community, and the *Communal Meal*, involving the presence of gods as well as mortals. It is meant to cement the certainty of the New Life.



Examples of loop-handles.

In course of time the tendency grew to concentrate the seasonal ceremonies, which have hitherto been performed by the community as a whole, in a single individual who is taken to personify the entire group. This individual is the king. He is, according to Gaster, regarded as at once the vessel and the steward of communal vitality. He too therefore suffers self-abasement and symbolical, in very rare cases even real, death. Similarly, instead of the whole group performing acts of sexual promiscuity in order to achieve regeneration, the king marries a specially chosen bride at the termination of the annual festival. Moreover, perennial cultic rites are also historicized thus representing in attenuated form the cyclic turn of Time in terms of a lasting event. In this process of development Ritual represents the real and punctual aspect of life, Myth translates it into a durative and transcendental situation. The organic combination of Myth and Ritual, turning presentation into re-presentation produces Drama. These theories on Ancient Near Eastern texts are further projected into medieval and sometimes even modern folk-lore and drama.

Within the framework of this review it is impossible to do full justice to all aspects with which Gaster deals in his *Thespis*. Yet, from a more detailed examination of his interpretation of Biblical and post-Biblical Hebrew literature an inference may well be drawn on the general applicability of his theories. Nowhere, for instance, in Biblical or post-Biblical legislation concerning the festivals do we find a pattern comprising all the rites which Gaster presupposes " not merely as a synthesis, artificially patched together from diverse data, but as a unified and central principle."

Some parts of the pattern may indeed explain the archetypal ideas of Hebrew festivals in the seventh month, if the rites of the Day of Atonement express mortification and those of the following Festival of In-gathering rejuvenation. But the Day of Atonement is immediately preceded by *Yōm Tĕruāh*, later generally referred to as *Rōsh-ha-Shānāh*, to which no mortification rites are attached in the Bible. On the contrary, this New Year Festival is a day of blowing the trumpet (Numbers, 29, 1) and the Pentateuch—to whatever author or authors we ascribe it—gives us no further indication as to its meaning. Apart from its use in war the trumpet was blown " in the day of your (Israel's) gladness, in your set feasts and in the beginnings of your months " (Numbers, 10, 10). In addition, the Book of Nehemiah (8, 9) describes this day as a day of joy on which the people ate and drank and made great mirth.

If the ritual pattern, consisting of rites of mortification and jubilation, follows the order of death and re-birth in Nature a day of joy should not precede one of self-abasement. It is true that the New Year has taken on a much more sombre aspect in Rabbinic tradition and that it has been closely connected with the Day of Atonement. But it is not permissible to construct the pattern of a ritual and literary archetype, if the documents on which it is based belong to historically different strata of development. Gaster, following Accadian usage, sees in the *Sukkah* a symbol of the divine throne similar to the pavilion in which the victorious Marduk was installed after vanquishing the dragon Tiamat. He also cites cognate evidence from the Ras Shamra texts and from Palmyrene inscriptions. But if these or similar references supply us with comparable data, it must be pointed out that the Bible itself, far from identifying itself with them, sought to discourage any such association by means of historicization (cf. e.g. Leviticus, 23, 43). Petrified remnants of the pattern may well occur in the Psalms or in isolated passages of the Prophets or in the Book of Job, as has been shown by a number of modern scholars, but it is significant that no hint referring to a mimetic combat between God and the dragon, to a triumphant procession of the divine victor, to mass matings of the people or to a sacred marriage of god or king was allowed to remain in the narrative parts of the Bible or in the regulations for the festivals of the seventh month. Gaster's reference to the erection of the tabernacle in the wilderness on the first day of the first month (Exodus 40, 2) and his attempt to link the New Year with the Sukkot festival is altogether misleading. This passage deals with the Tent of Meeting and not with the Sukkah at all.

Objections to his theories regarding the autumnal festival apply even more to Pesaḥ and Shābhuōth, the harvest festivals in the first and third month. There are no rites attached to them which express a state of mortification. Cleaning of sacred or domestic vessels is one thing, self-abasement another. The Bible records no fasting in these months. The fasting of the first-born on the thirteenth of the first month which is mentioned for the first time in Massekheth Sōfrīm 21, 3, dating in its present form from the end of the eighth century C.E., does not apply to the general public. If Gaster draws attention to the lenten period between Pesaḥ and Shābhuōth as a period of mortification, its place in time after the harvest of barley would contradict the order of his presupposed pattern. The whole custom of mourning at this period is, moreover, very late, and Maimonides in his Great Code of Biblical and Rabbinic Law does not mention anything about it yet. No king is appointed or re-appointed on these festivals and no combat between God and the dragon is recorded in the context. If, however, one thinks of a process of historicization which translates the old mythical combat into terms of a conflict between God or Moses and Pharaoh, we are quite unable to state with any precision at what time such projection took place, as has been shown convincingly by Engnell in his recent article on Pesaḥ and Maṣṣoth (Orientalia Suecana, Volume I, Uppsala, 1952). Again no sacred marriage or mass matings take place, unless one takes the Mishnaic statement: after the Passover meal one should not disperse in revelry (Pesāḥīm, 10, 8) as a late reiteration of an old-established principle against such practices.

According to late medieval Jewish codifiers, three weeks of mourning between the fast on the seventeenth of Tammuz and that of the ninth of Abh (July–August) are observed to commemorate the siege and fall of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. and that in 70 C.E. respectively. To relate these facts to the seasonal cult of Tammuz, the dying and reviving genius of fertility, surely stretches the study of Comparative Religion beyond its scientific limitations. Rites of mortification which appertain to this period were not as rigid from the outset as Gaster describes them. Maimonides, for instance, and even Joseph Karo (13th and 16th century respectively) still refer them only to the week in which the ninth of Abh falls. Again there is no king, no mock combat, no sacred marriage to supplement the pattern.

To consider the ceremonies of the fifteenth of Abh, when the daughters of Jerusalem went forth to dance in the vineyards, as an attenuation of promiscuity rites at seasonal festivals is another example of Professor Gaster's inadmissible extension of his theories. He reminds us that it was just at this time of year that the rape of the Sabine women is said to have taken place and gives further references to similar customs amongst other people. It is significant for his methods that he does not mention the Day of Atonement on which the same dances took place according to the Mishnah which he quotes (Ta'anīth: 4, 8). If the same rite took place yearly, once in August and once in October, one cannot compare it with the rape of the Sabine women which was restricted to one historic or legendary occasion. Moreover, the unprejudiced reading of the whole Mishnah must place its ethical contents and its literary form far above the level of a *Naturreligion*. Not so much similarity with, but contrast to the rites of the Ancient World has to be emphasized in order to arrive at a proper assessment of the Hebrew legacy.

We have already described the belief in the Return of the Dead as part of the pattern which Gaster believes to recur at the seasonal festivals of many religions, especially in connection with the New Year celebrations. His evidence regarding the Jews is again historically weak; there is in fact none in Biblical literature. What there is in later usage, as for instance the visiting of graves between the Eve of the New Year and the Day of Atonement is of late medieval origin. Some orthodox communities still consider any reference to the dead on the festival to be forbidden.

Gaster also refers to a Jewish folkloristic belief according to which the patriarchs of Israel—in reality also Joseph, Moses, Aaron and David—visit their descendants during the autumnal harvest festival of Booths in the capacity of honoured guests. As literary references to these *'ushpīzīn* (hospites) occur for the first time in Kabbalistic literature, they have hardly been part and parcel of the festival pattern from the outset, though they might go back to earlier oral traditions or folkloristic practices.

According to Gaster the seasonal pattern survived also in hymns associated with calendar festivals; especially a number of psalms and isolated passages in prophetic writings are described as literary attenuations of the ancient dramatic myth. Here, more than in the legislative and narrative part of the Bible, images and concepts,which have their origin in the common roots of Ancient Near Eastern antiquity, were used and allowed to stay. Yet even in this branch of literature changes took place which often, if not always, transformed the original motives into witnesses of monotheistic faith.

A criticism of the author's interpretation of some thirteen psalms may be summarized as follows: (1) Hardly one of the psalms or of the prophetic passages with which he deals has all parts of the presupposed pattern, however ingeniously and convincingly a certain situation in life such as cessation of life activities, enthronement of God or king, jubilation, etc., is recognized in a chosen chapter or in a number of verses. (2) Some of the textual emendations which the author proposes in order to achieve closer similarities with his pattern are dubious, even if supported by some of the versions. I am thinking, for instance, of Psalm 29, 2, where Gaster reads *b*^{e}*haṣrōth qōdesh* instead of *b*^{e}*hadrath qodesh*, though the latter occurs in a similar context in Psalm 96, 9, in I Chronicles 16, 29, and II Chronicles 20, 21. (3) In some cases a situation connected by Gaster with seasonal rites, as for instance in Psalm 76, 4 ff, or in Zephaniah, 1, 8 ff, could be much better classified as belonging to an entirely different *Gattung* of Old Testament writings, namely, to that which describes a *Holy War*, as recently demonstrated in Gerhard *v.* Rad's *Der Heilige Krieg.*

Nowhere does it become more apparent that the author overshoots his marks than in his interpretation of the Book of Joel. He maintains its dependence on a common ritualistic source and sees in it a sustained series of allusions to the typical seasonal pattern: Rites of mortification, an all-night vigil for the lost god of fertility, a ritual combat and the vision of an ultimate era of re-invigoration. Ignoring completely chapter I, verses 1–8, he does not remind his reader with one word, that the book of Joel describes a plague of locusts and its effect on the land and people of Israel.

Caution against the rigid application of Gaster's theories in the field of Hebrew literature seems equally justified, if we turn for a moment to the other texts which he presents for examination in the light of his patterns.

Can we really regard the story of Aqhat as a version of the myth of Orion? Would it not imply too much of an intellectualisation on the part of a relatively primitive people? Or in the words of R. P. A. De Langhe "Concrètement, textes à la main, il parait bien difficile d'établir la preuve de l'existence d'un schéma mythico-rituel à Ugarit."[1]

Professor Frankfort, on the other hand, has rightly drawn attention to the fact that in Egypt the king was divine in essence; the conception of a substitute king or of the deposition or humiliation of the king is unknown and unthinkable. There is no ritual of the sacred marriage of Osiris, and Pharaoh in his lifetime never embodies Osiris.[2]

As to Greek literature, it has well been said that Euripides would have written what he wrote, if the origin of drama had been wholly secular and unconnected with any religious ceremonies.[3] That a Hebrew drama in the true sense of the word does not exist need hardly be emphasised. The cyclic turn of Nature, Death and Life, Pain and Joy is superseded by the rule of Him Who doth not slumber nor sleep.

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[1] Cf. his *Mythes et Rites dans les textes de Ras Shamra Ugarit* in *Proceedings* of the 7th Congress for the History of Religions, 1951, p. 99.

[2] Cf. H. Frankfort: *The Absence of a Pattern in the Religions of the Ancient Near East* in *Proceedings* of the 7th Congress for the History of Religions, 1951, p. 100.

[3] Cf. *Review of Thespis* by H. J. Rose in the *Journal of Hellenistic Studies*, Vol. 72, 1952, p. 145.

Criticism of Gaster's generalisations should nevertheless not bar us from seeing in his book a stimulating, imaginative and in many details valuable contribution to the study of Ancient Near Eastern Literature. His Thespis is well-written, and a vast amount of material belonging to all corners of the world is listed and evaluated. The bibliography comprises 515 books and almost 100 articles from international periodicals. The independent translations of difficult Ancient Near Eastern texts as well as the various indices, especially the one on those biblical passages which have a bearing on the main theme will be useful and even indispensable for a good time to come.

SIEGFRIED STEIN.

Radiocarbon Dating by Willard F. Libby. University of Chicago Press. 1952.

Many attempts, other than pure guesswork, have been made to find some reliable system for accurate archæological dating. Some systems such as Astronomical dating, varve clays and tree-ring analysis, have in many cases given surprisingly good results, but these generally fail because their application is too local. Methods such as Solar Radiation, which has been used for earlier prehistoric dating, are not very precise nor can they be used for periods less than 10,000 years ago.

Quite recently a new technique has been devised which, when fully tested, gives promise of being extremely useful. This method is generally known as Radiocarbon or C.14 dating. It has been developed by the American Dr. Libby, and sufficient tests have been made to give some idea of its possible value. Dr. Libby's book deals with the theory behind C.14 dating, the method employed and a summary of the results to date ; this is followed by an assessment of the results by Fredrick Johnson.

In essentials the technique is based on the theory that any living substance contains a proportion of radiocarbon or C.14 which, during the life of the substance, is continually being re-constituted ; after the death of the substance this re-constitution stops and the carbon present at the time of death begins to degenerate. If this degeneration takes place at a known rate and its complete degeneration in a known time, then it is possible to estimate the time at which the organism died by estimating the amount of radiocarbon present. After complete degeneration has taken place no further estimations are possible. Beyond this point, of course, no figures can be arrived at, and as the amount of radiocarbon decreases it becomes more difficult to get a reading. There are of course several possible sources of error, the most important being in the original handling of the sample by the excavator ; this initial danger is best expressed in Dr. Libby's own words. " It is obvious that we must be careful in selecting samples to choose materials that contain the original carbon atoms present at the time death occurred. In other words, samples must not have been preserved with organic materials containing carbon of age different from that of the sample. Care must also be taken that chemical changes have not led to replacement of the carbon atoms." It must be realized that no date can be given with absolute accuracy, and that a margin of sometimes as much as 200 years must be allowed on either side; in late prehistoric dating this is not serious, though it lessens the value of the technique for historic dating.

Readers who are not chemists will find the section on the laboratory work hard to follow, but the table of results from many samples from many sites and periods is extremely important as well as Johnson's well-balanced summary at the end. It will be seen that some of the dates given by this method are rather erratic; this is inevitable at first, partly because some substances respond better than others, also many samples submitted were collected long before the method was devised and as a result were not handled with the possibility of contamination in mind, and lastly not all the samples were stratigraphically beyond reproach. For this method to inspire complete confidence it is necessary to have the results from many well-authenticated samples, but enough has already been done to show its possibilities. J. W.

Jerusalem in the Old Testament, Researches and Theories. By Dr. J. Simons. S.J. 11½ by 8½. Pp. xvi + 517 + pls. xxxiii + figs. 64. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1952. 7 guineas.

The site of the "city of David," the date and line of the First and Second of the three north walls of Josephus and the line of the Third wall are old, well-worn, topographical problems but new light has been thrown upon them by recent excavations. The difficulties of excavating in Jerusalem are notorious: Warren had to sink shafts eighty feet deep before reaching the bottom course of the walls round the temple precinct, and the style of the masonry was all he could learn from the shafts and tunnels he ran from them. Now at last open trenches, north, west and south-east of the city have provided more evidence about the history of the buildings that have been uncovered. All the trenches have been strictly limited in extent but the deposits which have been exposed tell a story that can be read with some confidence.

In *Jerusalem in the Old Testament* Dr. Simons discusses the new material at length and a great deal more: he envisaged the task of "attempting a comprehensive synthesis of all literary and archæological data concerning biblical Jerusalem" and his work embodies the results of recent research with an almost bewildering number of less recent theories about the topography of the city from its capture by David about 1000 B.C. to its destruction by Titus in A.D. 70, a subject much wider than the title suggests. After two preliminary chapters he studies in turn the south-eastern hill, the south-western hill, the Second wall and the problem of the Holy Sepulchre, the Temple area, the city of Nehemiah, and the Third wall or the wall of Herod

Agrippa. Five long chapters, more than four-fifths of the book, are devoted to the problems mentioned in my first sentence and it is these only that I have ventured to discuss in the following pages.

I

The south-east hill, conveniently if inaccurately called Ophel by many writers, is the most insignificant of all the hills in Jerusalem, and Josephus who was naturally prejudiced against whatever seemed small and insignificant in the national story, placed David's capital on the more imposing hill to the south-west where the citadel stands today. Though Josephus' identification is generally abandoned now, Simons has been wise in referring to what has been learned about other Early Iron Age sites in Palestine before turning to the real Sion or " city of David " (p. 50 f.) : places like Megiddo and Lachish and Jericho were all very small, two of the largest, Lachish and Gezer, covered only eighteen acres, they were built generally on detached hills or at the end of a ridge which could be easily defended, and they stood, wherever possible, close to a permanent supply of water : strongholds or citadels would be a better term for them than cities. David's capital, even after Solomon had built his palace and temple quarter to the north, remained a little place of this type, just above the one good spring in the area, on a ridge that lent itself to defensive works. The size of the intramural population is anybody's guess: Jeremias suggests 25,000–30,000 in the time of Herod (*ZDPV*. vol. 66, p. 31), in early days 5,000 might be nearer the mark.

The south-east hill, south of the present city wall, has been more excavated than any other part of Jerusalem, and masses of Early Iron Age pottery have been found, thrown down the slopes above the Kedron or swept into holes and crevices in the rock, whereas little of the same date has been found elsewhere in the city. This is the most certain proof of the importance of the site under the monarchy but it is not the only proof. The most spectacular of the remains is the strangely devious tunnel from the spring to Siloam, attributed to Hezekiah ; other water-works, explored by Warren, Vincent and Weill, are earlier ; one shaft is believed to be Jebusite. Walls have been discovered on three sides of the ridge. Most of the masonry that has survived is much later, Warren's great Ophel wall which abuts the south-east corner of the temple enclosure may, for example, be largely the work of Eudocia, but it rests on ancient lines if not on old foundations. Simons is right in pointing out that convincing proofs of the early date of the masonry in the gate-towers in the Tyropœum discovered by G. M. Fitzgerald and the writer are lacking (p. 90),[1] but the line, half way up the west slope of the ridge, is almost certainly the old line: the position corresponds with that of Early Iron Age walls at Samaria and Lachish and that of the wall found by Warren in front of the Golden Gate which has been attributed to Manasseh (*p.* 331). And there is some other masonry which undoubtedly goes back to the early monarchy, the stepped glacis above the spring and some of the building at the south end of the ridge. A site stretching from the north end of the Haram enclosed by these walls would be very like the site enclosed by the Israelite walls on the middle terraces at Samaria, a little longer perhaps but not so wide.

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[1] Proofs might be found if the south tower were cleared to the bottom where the stratification is probably less disturbed than it is in the gateway. We saw only the upper courses of the west face of this tower and the clearance is the more desirable now because the 1928 excavations failed to reveal more of the wall to the south. Most of the existing masonry, like that of the great tower found by Duncan on the opposite side of the ridge, may well date from Nehemiah's restoration.

About Weill's royal necropolis Simons is discreetly non-committal. One would have expected a hypogæum on the scale of the so-called tombs of the patriarchs at Hebron, and the shafts which Weill identifies as princely tombs look to me like the cellars or store-rooms of private houses such as I found farther north. Flinders Petrie once pointed out to me the slope above the Tyropœum north-west of the supposed necropolis as the likeliest site in which to look for the sepulchres of the kings.

On a place so densely occupied in late Byzantine and Arab days it is small wonder that more of the early periods has not survived. At Samaria there were a few traces of the royal quarter—a large court with a hard floor of crushed limestone, fragmentary foundations of one or two fine buildings, one of them the "house of ivory," some carved pilaster capitals and a fragment with three letters from an inscribed stele. We may be sure that counterparts of these existed at Jerusalem and on some of the ivories there are miniature representations of the cherubim and palms which once decorated the temple, but nothing comparable has been discovered and we must not be misled by the dazzling descriptions of Solomon's building in the books of Kings and Chronicles. A recent writer regards it as "primarily a royal chapel": the founder "certainly had no intention of substituting it for the ancient high places": the older prophets make no mention of it and it was only after the reform of Josiah in 622 that it became recognized as the "sole legitimate sanctuary of Jahveh" (see Lods, *Israel*, pp. 413, 414). We do not know how much ground it covered but Simons may well be right in thinkingt that the temple court was no bigger in all probability than the court of the post-exilic temple described by Hecatæus about 300 B.C. The figures of Hecatæus are quoted by Josephus (*Against Apion*, I. 198) and the court in this case would have covered a smaller area than the raised platform in the Haram esh-Sherif on which the Dome of the Rock now stands (Simons, *p.* 398, *note* 3).

II

Jerusalem was utterly destroyed by the Babylonians and, in spite of Nehemiah's efforts, the population of the city was still small at the beginning of the 2nd century. In a passage quoted by Josephus (*Ant.* XII, 136) Polybius writes of "the Jews who lived near the temple which is called Jerusalem." Jerusalem had become a sanctuary city, one of the many hierocracies that flourished under the Persian empire, and Polybius refers to it as if it were a mere annexe of the temple. He is describing the triumphant advance of Antiochus III in 197 B.C. and the help which he received from the Jews in question who were evidently living, as in the days of Nehemiah, on their lands outside the city: they provided him with fodder for his elephants and assisted him in his attack on the local, Ptolemaic, garrison. Antiochus requited them generously: he made gifts to the temple and, in accordance with the urbanizing tradition of his family, tried to attract more people to the city by offering special concessions to settlers. His efforts were seconded by a wealthy Tobiad named Joseph of whom Josephus gives a long account (*Ant.* XII, 224), and they were very successful: Hellenistic fashions and Hellenistic trade boomed; on the east side of Ophel Duncan reports collecting from six to eight hundred of the stamped jar handles from the amphoræ in which foreign produce was imported (*PEFQS.* 1925, p. 22) and on the other side quantities of Hellenistic ware and remains of a long wall which is certainly Hellenistic were found in 1927 and 1928 (*PEFQS.* 1929, pp. 156 ff. and *PEQ.* 1945, p. 71, footnote 2).

The finds made on Ophel and, more recently, by the citadel prove that Josephus was right in believing that there was a real renaissance at Jerusalem in the early Seleucid period, and all the archæological evidence at present available points to this as the date of the expansion of the city to the south-west hill, unpopular as this opinion may be. Simons, like Adam Smith, believes that the expansion took place before the fall of the monarchy: Smith laid stress on the identification of the valley of Hinnom with the valley of Tophet and on the dangerously exposed position of Hezekiah's pool if there was no walled quarter of the city farther west; Simons's view appears to be based chiefly on the description of walls and gates in Nehemiah, particularly on the number of gates for which some place has to be found. He frankly admits, however, that "all underground researches so far undertaken on the south-west hill have failed to confirm this conclusion and in some cases point rather in the opposite direction" (*p.* 252).

The reference in the last sentence is to the results of the excavations which C. N. Johns has been conducting over a number of years in the courtyard of the citadel west and south-west of the so-called tower of David (see *QDAP.* XIV, pp. 121 ff.). This tower, one of three built by Herod to defend his new palace, stood, according to Josephus (*Wars* V, 143), on an old wall which was the "work of David and Solomon and their successors," built to join the south-west hill to the temple hill. Johns did in fact find that the tower had been inserted in an earlier wall which formed part of a line of defence round the hill. The deposits, however, through which the builders of this wall had cut proved beyond doubt that it dated from the time of one of the Hasmonæan rulers, probably Alexander Jannæus, and was less therefore than a hundred years old in Herod's day. Farther to the south-west there were traces of two still earlier walls on the same line of defence but the older of these, constructed of rough unhewn boulders in the same style as some walls recently found at Bethzur and Samaria, is to be assigned like them to the Hellenistic age, a date corroborated by the deposits, the javelin heads and broken ballista balls which are relics of the battles that took place in the 2nd century B.C. The only pre-Hellenistic objects found in the tolerably extensive area excavated were some sherds of the Early Iron Age in a nearby rock pocket unrelated to any wall : evidence that people were living here under the monarchy, not that it was inside the walled town. Josephus, of course, could see with his own eyes the wall in which Herod's tower stood but he could not, or would not, date it : it was actually an excellent wall built of squared and bossed stones and only needed a little patching here and there by the Herodian masons.

The discoveries of Johns have thrown new light on the city walls traced by Bliss and Dickie in the last century above the valley on the south side of Jerusalem. They had to tunnel most of the way and were unable consequently to make a proper stratigraphic study of the context of the walls but the admirable drawings made by Dickie, the architect of the expedition, enabled Johns to recognize the close similarity of the earlier of the two walls they found to the Hasmonæan wall on the citadel : it was built in the same style and similarly patched at various points in the Herodian fashion. " On all grounds," Johns concludes, " it seems most unlikely that any of this line can be as old as the time of the Kings, as the authors supposed " (*l.c. pp.* 150–2). Until the contrary has been proved by a series of scientific soundings on both sides of this line we shall have to abide by this verdict.

The long sections which Simons devotes to the walls round the Haram esh-Sherif are based, of course, on the researches of Warren, as the only recent work that has been carried out below the surface in this area, the trenches dug when the Aqsa mosque was rebuilt, has added nothing to the problems in which he is interested. Simons concludes that the south wall, a small part at the south end of the east wall and most of the west wall are the only portions we can ascribe to Herod : the major part of the east wall is an earlier *city wall* which Herod incorporated in his new court. It is a conclusion which seems to me eminently acceptable. There is no certain evidence about the date of the earlier wall which Simons does not discuss : the masonry, which is much more advanced than any that has been assigned to Nehemiah must, I think, be Hellenistic and the earliest date the renaissance of Jerusalem described by Josephus at the beginning of the 2nd century B.C. This is the time when, according to the author of Ecclesiasticus (*ch. L. vv.*, 1–4), a number of works were executed in the temple area by the high-priest Simon II, the son of Onias who was uncle of the Tobiad Joseph. In Ecclesiasticus we read that besides repairing the " house " he fortified the temple, building " from the foundation the double height, the high fortress of the wall about the temple," covered in the cistern and " fortified the city against besieging," phrases that seem to imply two walls in this area, one round the temple court and a second outside it. Herod enlarged the court by adopting this second wall as the east wall of the precinct which in its present extent is, as Simons writes, larger than the whole of the Acropolis at Athens. It was no doubt the magnificence of the new creation and the other buildings of Herod which led the elder Pliny to extol Jerusalem as " by far the most famous of the cities of the East "—*longe clarissima urbium orientis*—words quoted at the beginning of the book before us.

The problems presented by the Second and Third walls of Josephus seem less intractable though controversialists have been very busy with both. The Second wall is very briefly described : it started at the Gate Gennath and ended at the Antonia, enclosing only the north quarter of the city. This quarter is pictured elsewhere as a maze of narrow streets and alleys where the wool merchants, the blacksmiths and the textile vendors had their shops and offices (*p.* 333 and *Wars* V., 331).

Controversies have gathered round the line of the Second wall because the church of the Holy Sepulchre, which lies north-east of Herod's tower, is now inside the circuit of the walls, and the sites which it commemorates can hardly be authentic unless they were outside the Second wall which was the outer city wall at the time of the Crucifixion : the chapter in which Simons discusses this line is entitled accordingly " The Second wall and the problem of the Holy Sepulchre."

The position of the Gennath or Garden gate is not known. Most of those who attacked the genuineness of the holy sites placed it at the west end of the First wall near Herod's tower, and supposed that the Second wall enclosed a much larger area than the account of the north quarter suggests. Père Vincent adopted the same position for the gate but pointed to various remains which seemed to indicate that the wall, after running north for some distance, turned to the east in a series of zigzags and had actually been incorporated in the atrium at the east end of Constantine's church. An all-important role in this reconstruction was played by a wall some 30 m. long which had been seen by Merrill and others in 1885 when a large hotel building was being erected north of Herod's tower : in style and materials it resembled two of the atrium walls, and it was identified by Vincent as a fragment of the Second wall, the atrium walls being part of a tower built on the wall and dating from the Herodian period or earlier. The authenticity of the holy sites was therefore confirmed.

A discovery made by Johns has now put a new complexion on this matter (*QDAP.* XIV, *pp.* 154–8). In line with the wall found in 1885, and obviously forming one end of it, Johns found a wall abutting the north face of Herod's tower : the lower courses were built in the same style of re-used Herodian stones and the stratification proved that it dated from the "Aelian " period. Sir Charles Wilson had drawn the same conclusion about the 1885 wall from the number of legionary tiles found round about it (*Golgotha*, *p.* 132). It follows that the wall may be of the same date as the wall of Constantine's atrium and that neither can be identified any longer with the Second wall.

Simons approaches the problem from a different angle. He refers, as did Wilson (*l.c.*, *p.* 129), to the account in Josephus of one of the later episodes in the siege of Jerusalem in which the Second wall is mentioned. After he had finally captured this wall, Titus raised four banks on which to mount his engines, two against the Antonia which still held out and two against the First wall: one of the latter was at the pool Amygdalon which is now called the Patriarch's bath, the other about 30 cubits away by the tomb of the high-priest, John Hyrcanus (*Wars* V, 468, *ch.* xi). The Patriarch's bath lies south-west of Constantine's church, the site of the high-priest's tomb is not known but it must have been east of the bath because Titus would hardly have mounted his siege engines opposite the strongest part of the First wall where Herod's towers stood.

The account of this episode suggests a site for the Gennath gate much farther east, about midway between the citadel and the temple, as already proposed by Dalman, and a line for the Second wall running through or near the present Khan ez-Zeit as far perhaps as the Via Dolorosa where it would have turned east towards the Antonia.[1] It is a line which has much to commend it and, as Simons points out, it supports the opinion that the traditional Golgotha and Holy Sepulchre are authentic holy sites (*p.* 306). On this hypothesis the region north-west of the city walls at the date of the Crucifixion would have been an open area, covered with gardens and orchards as the name of the Gennath gate suggests, but one that had been also used as a burial ground, an appropriate place therefore for the garden of Joseph of Arimathea and for the new tomb he had made. Material evidence for this or any other line, however, is still lacking.

About the date and the course of the Third wall Josephus is more explicit. It was planned on a magnificent scale by Agrippa I (A.D. 41–4) but only completed, and that in a hurried fashion, during the first revolt. It is the first wall which certainly enclosed the area we have just been describing.

The course of this wall is in dispute. For a long time it was identified with the present north wall of the city which corresponds undoubtedly with many of the details mentioned by Josephus: the wall itself was restored by Suleiman in the 16th century but traces of earlier construction were visible in the lower courses—just above ground-level inside the Damascus gate there were the voussoirs of an arch which had once led through it east of the main entrance, and, low down in many places, there were large stones dressed in the unmistakable Herodian style. But the identification was challenged in the last century by Edward Robinson who pointed to some remains of ancient building north-west of the present wall as relics of the work of Agrippa.

The remains seen by Robinson were adversely criticized by most of his contemporaries and they have long disappeared, but the controversy he started was fanned into flame again by the chance discovery in 1925 of a really splendid Herodian block north of the city on the line which he had indicated.

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[1] Simons refers with approval to an article by Capt. C. T. Norris in *PEQ*, 1946.

Investigations made by E. L. Sukenik and L. A. Mayer brought to light more traces of building on either side of this block, among them the foundations of a gateway close to the American School of Oriental Research. The conclusions of these scholars were vigorously traversed by Vincent who stressed the miserable character of the new remains which had been uncovered : little survived anywhere above the bottom course of the wall and, although it might have been expected from the account of Josephus that this at least would have been laid in fine Herodian style, all the masonry was composed of heterogeneous materials very poorly put together. But, a little later, more still was found farther east by Sukenik and Fisher, and by 1940 the remains of the wall extended over a line some 765 m. long and included the foundations of two towers, one 20 m. in length. Not a single coin or potsherd to give a date to the masonry was published but a note on the finds in the official journal of the Department of Antiquities was headed "The Third Wall" (*QDAP*. X, *p*. 195), and Vincent was left a voice crying in the wilderness.

So at least it seemed to the present writer and to many others, but the same number of the journal just quoted contained also a long article by R. W. Hamilton, then Director of the Department of Antiquities, on some excavations he had made in 1937–8 against the present north wall, excavations representing according to Simons "the acme of modern excavation technique" (*p*. 491), and these have led me to a different view. Hamilton made five soundings, three by the Damascus gate and two farther east near Herod's gate : in one of the former he found just in front of the west tower the lower courses of an earlier tower some 7 m. below ground-level ; they were part of a rather larger tower which had been splayed towards the north like the present tower and the masonry was indubitably Herodian : more Herodian work was visible in the lower courses on the other side of the later tower but the stones at this point had been redressed to conform in style to those above them (*QDAP*. X, plates VI 1 and 2, and III 3 and *pp*. 24–26 and 6, footnote 2). In one of the soundings farther east Hamilton found that the later history of the wall was further complicated by shifts in the line : traces of three walls were found, one 9 m. north of the present line. The net result, however, is plain, though Hamilton who was primarily interested in unravelling the history of the present wall has hardly emphasized the earliest stage sufficiently : the Agrippan date of the line of the present north wall has been proved by remains still *in situ*, and in view of what Josephus tells us we cannot be surprised that more has not yet been seen—Agrippa had accomplished little before his work was stopped and the parts added to it by the insurgents were destroyed by Titus a few years later.

The stratification shows that a reconstruction of the Damascus gate, which includes three arches and the great plinth uncovered by Hamilton, dates from approximately the same period as the wall found by Johns north of Herod's tower, which is also approximately the same period as the first walls and cisterns in the Tyropœum after the siege of Titus. Hamilton and

Johns call this the Aelian period, which is accurate no doubt but rather vague, and we might, I think, venture to date it more closely to the first half of the 4th century, the time of Constantine. The masonry of the towers and curtains at the Damascus gate is fairly good but it does not compare favourably with that of the Ecce Homo arch or with 2nd and 3rd century building at Sebaste. It is suggested therefore that the north wall was rebuilt about the same time as the church of the Holy Sepulchre. It was restored again, as the stratification shows, in the Arab period, probably under the Umayyads.

What are we to say now about the Robinson-Sukenik-Fisher line? Vincent conjectured that the remains were the work of Barkokhba, and it is easier to raise objections to this hypothesis than to find a more plausible alternative. The line, Simons writes, " though no longer a myth does remain an enigma wheresoever we turn " (*p.* 503). It is likely to remain an enigma until it has been dated stratigraphically.

The sentence just quoted comes from the last page of a book which will be a landmark for many years of the stage we have now reached in the study of the topography of Jerusalem, the first stage in which we have not been compelled to " make bricks without straw." We have still a long way to go but Dr. Simons has given a faithful account of the recent work to which the progress we have made is due and there can be little of the older literature which has escaped his notice. He is to be congratulated most heartily on the successful completion of the task he set himself. J. W. C.

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